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AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

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Hon. Edw. Everett

Aug 7 1850

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MAY, 1818.

ART. I.—*Supplement to the Encyclopœdia Brittanica. Article, "Beauty."* Edinburgh, December, 1816.

To discover what beauty is, and in what manner it affects us, has long been a favourite object of speculative curiosity. The learned have pursued this inquiry with ardour, from its apparently intimate connexion with some of the most interesting truths of intellectual philosophy; and many of the higher order of artists have been led to anticipate, from the success of their researches, an almost infinite improvement of their powers to please. But no such improvement seems likely to result from these speculations. For him, who would paint a fine picture, it may be about as useful to inquire into the nature of beauty, as for one, who would acquaint himself with history, to penetrate into the nature of truth, or for one, who would feel the force of a mathematical demonstration, to develop the fundamental principles of human belief. In this, as in most other subjects, men have commenced with what is difficult and remote, and afterwards proceeded to what is intelligible and familiar,—have loved to systematize and speculate, rather than to examine and compare. But however misguided and unsuccessful these researches, in general, may have been, they are neither useless nor uninteresting. Acuteness has been displayed, in this very abstruse metaphysical problem, almost proportioned to its difficulty; nor have great endeavours been altogether unavailing to subject what is subtle and evanescent to the grasp of ordinary minds. Besides, philosophers are never so zealous and unwearied in collecting particulars, as when employed in building a system; and while making whimsical theories and ardent in the pursuit of impossibilities, they have placed in very striking points of view many important, but unnoticed facts in the nature and history of the fine arts. Their discoveries have illustrated, and enforced many of the doctrines of philosophical criticism. Their writings have borrowed many attractions from the objects they describe, and have contributed very much to cherish among literary men a fondness for abstract speculation.

A song, a tune, a picture, a poem, an ethical maxim and a mathematical theorem—the external appearances of the material world and the internal mechanism of the mind, are all denominated beautiful. If the use of this word in our language be considered just, and we know of no other basis for our reasonings, the emotions awakened by the objects, on which we bestow this appellation, are extremely various and dissimilar. On a first view of this subject, one would naturally suppose that a theory, professing to explain the nature of beauty, should comprise all the different sources of our delight. If utility always affords gratification, and a beautiful object pleases by its usefulness, as well as by its colour and form, or if any sensation be always grateful, and this be found among the pleasures, which a beautiful object affords, it would seem natural that utility and a power of producing agreeable sensations should be ranked among the constituent elements of beauty. We may find some circumstances to limit the extent of this remark; but without farther examination we should suppose that the fragrance of the rose, as well as its colour, every thing, in short, which enters into and heightens the delightful effect of beauty, should be ranked among its elements. Leaving for the present the objections to this principle, we shall proceed to point out some prominent features of individuals in this class of objects.

The presence of some beautiful objects *directly* excites some emotion. Brisk, lively tunes inspire us with mirthful, and slow, plaintive tunes with mournful feelings. Moral beauty calls forth our admiration of one, who could rise above the vulgar passions of selfishness and timidity. Much of the power of tragedy depends on the natural effect, which the exhibition of signs of distress always produces in moving our compassion.—To be *reminded of past emotions* often affords us high delight, and we consider that beautiful with which they were associated. A tune, to which we were accustomed to listen with indifference, is now beautiful, because it was the favourite of an absent or a departed friend. Some things receive this appellation, because they please what have been called our acquired senses, by their utility or fitness. Domestick animals would scarcely have occupied a position so striking in most landscapes, did they not contribute so largely to the comfort and convenience of mankind. To this head we may refer much of the beauty of architecture, and still more of all mechanical contrivances.—Resemblance often confers much beauty on things in themselves indifferent. A very large share of the pleasure, which uneducated men feel in the contemplation of pictures and statues, flows from the unexpected perception of a strong resemblance between what is living and what is inanimate. Contrast, if it does not often render things, in themselves indifferent, beautiful, at least heightens the pleasing effect of beauty. Virgil's description of the stillness of night and the sleep of nature would be read with little interest, if not contrasted with the restlessness of the unhappy Dido. In the fragment of Simonides, of which our last number contained a translation, how beautiful is the contrast of the dashing of waves and the cares of the sorrowful mother, with the tranquil and undisturbed repose of her sleeping infant. Admiration of the skill and genius of the artist constitutes a chief constituent in the emotions, which we experience in viewing a fine work of art. We sympathise with the triumph of the artist, when he has overcome a great difficulty. This, we cannot but believe, is the great source of beauty in French tragedy. We wonder at the skill of the poet, who moves with ease and grace, though fettered by all the rules of French tragedy and French versification. To please the touch, the smell, or the palate, frequently heightens the beauty of natural objects. To its fragrance, the rose is indebted for its supremacy among flowers. Mr. Burke observes, 'I do not recollect any beautiful object, which is not smooth;' there are, no doubt, many; but we need not blush to own how widely these gratifications of sense participate in many of our more refined enjoyments. How much that 'annual intoxication of spirits,' which we hail with joy at the opening of spring, depends on the softness of the air, and the agreeable relaxation of the animal fibre, all must be sensible, who, after enjoying in our climate a fine morning for a while, have felt how instantly a turn of the vane dissolved the enchantment.

Those who approach this subject, without any preconceived opinions, will, we believe, acknowledge that these are some of the chief pleasures, which they derive from the perception of beauty. We have not attempted a complete classification; some we have intentionally omitted, because they have been the subjects of controversy. Those, which we have enumerated, are seldom found unmingled; and like many natural substances often produce very different effects, when alone and when in combination. We find thus in beautiful objects the following means of gratification,—a power to produce emotions, or to suggest them, or things, which have produced them; to produce or suggest pleasing sensations, to gratify our sense of fitness and utility, to excite the mind to contrast or to compare. Without any reasons being urged in opposition, it would then be a philosophical reply to the question, what are the elements of beauty?—all these different sources of pleasure in things which are called beautiful. If these are all elements of beauty, it is obviously impossible to resolve them into any one principle of our nature; they are dissimilar and distinct. All that the subject admits is to classity and arrange the different sorts of gratification, to determine what will delight alone, and what only from its situation and relations; what is the result of universal and what of arbitrary associations.

The only fair objection to this conclusion, worthy of any reply, has been often made, and again and again repeated by those, who have not fully comprehended its meaning. It is said, that when we ask, what is beauty? we do not mean to ask what are the means of pleasing, which things beautiful possess, but what is there common to them all. This objection proceeds on a philological assumption, that where many things are classed together under the same name, there must of necessity be some leading idea, running through all its different applications. This is very explicitly stated by the author of the article before us, as the ground work of some of his reasonings.

> 'Boundless as their diversity may appear, it is plain they *must* resemble each other in *something*, and in something much more definite and definable than merely in being agreeable;—since they

are all classed together in every age and nation under the common appellation of beautiful, and are felt indeed to produce emotions in the mind that have some sort of kindred and affinity. The words Beauty and Beautiful in short must mean something; and are universally felt to mean something much more definite than agreeableness or gratification in general; and while it is confessedly by no means easy to describe or define what that something is, the force and clearness of our perception is demonstrated by the readiness, with which we determine in any particular instance, whether the object of a pleasurable emotion is or is not properly described as Beauty.'

Whatever suggests emotions to any individual is, according to this author, as really beautiful, as Homer's Iliad to all men of taste. Of the truth of the proposition, that all such objects 'are classed together, in every age and nation,' we must require rather stronger evidence than either this, or, we believe, any other writer, can furnish. We think the philological axiom, which these assertions are brought to maintain, an unfounded prejudice, and totally unsupported by any thing in the structure of language or the laws of thought. If a term in its second application loses much of its primitive meaning, we are at a loss to conceive why, in its third or fourth application, it is impossible that it should lose the whole of what it held in common with the first, and retain only what is common to the second and third. Why language should be arbitrary in every other respect, and uniform only in this, we know not. If language be equally uniform in the application of other terms, why do we not search for what there is common to the fruit that is *good* to the palate, the medicine that is *good* for a fever, and the conduct that is *good* for the purposes of ambition; as well as for what is common to the *beautiful* sky, the *beautiful* tune and the *beautiful* theorem? When we first read in Mr. Stewart's Philosophical Essays a refutation of this axiom, we were a little surprised that he should take so much pains to remove so palpable an errour. To meet with it again, in a work intended to give a general view of the present state of science in an article written by an author so able and popular, struck us with something more than surprise. We regret, though we cannot complain, that while Mr. Stewart clearly proved that a word may be extended in its application to things which have no quality or attribute in common with that to which it originally belonged, he did not demonstrate the utter failure of all attempts to discover the common idea of the word beauty in all its various uses.

The analogy of language may not prove that there is such an idea, and yet, by an attentive observation, we may detect it. With a view to display the absolute impossibility of detecting any common quality or attribute of all beautiful objects other than mere agreeableness or gratification in general, we shall now examine the theory of Mr. Alison and that of our author, which is stated to be substantially the same. It is necessary to premise, that these theories, in order to fulfil their design, must exhibit something, which is not only common but peculiar.

The emotion of taste, or that produced by sublime or beautiful objects, (of which the former is now considered as a species of the latter,) is, in Mr. Alison's opinion, a complex emotion. All things, really beautiful, have in common and peculiar to themselves, that they always produce some simple emotion combined with a certain exercise of the imagination. Our objections to this doctrine are briefly these. The word emotion is made to include not merely the exercise of some feeling or social affection; it often means nothing more definite than a vague gratification or agreeableness. He makes the phrase, 'exercise of the imagination,' to mean the passing of 'a train of ideas of emotion' through the mind, which sometimes does and sometimes does not involve an effort of the imagination. Neither do we think that the train of thoughts, which beautiful objects call up in the mind, can always be denominated, with propriety, ideas of emotion. But granting all these objections to be unfounded, it must be acknowledged, that though this complex emotion be common, it is not peculiar to beautiful objects; for things which are not beautiful nor ugly inspire emotions, and are followed by 'trains of ideas of emotion,' as well as those which are. We should smile to hear a merchant talk of the beauty of a large fortune he had just acquired, or an orator descant upon the sublimity of the applauding shouts, with which a popular assembly had just rewarded his eloquence. This complex emotion is not common, and if it were common, it is not peculiar, and therefore does not solve the problem proposed. While we cannot but admire Mr. Alison's exquisite sensibility as an observer, his ingenuity as a theorist, and his elegance as a writer, we do not at all accord with him in his conclusions. He has gone as far towards effecting an impossibility, as any of his predecessors. Many of his remarks are of the highest importance, no less to the artist and the poet, than the scholar and the critick.

We shall now endeavour to present to our readers a brief sketch of the system, which is, we believe, justly ascribed to Mr. Jeffreys.

'In our opinion, then, our sense of beauty depends entirely on our previous experience of simpler pleasures or emotions, and consists in the *suggestion* of agreeable or interesting sensations [emotions] with which we had formerly been made familiar by the direct and intelligible agency of our common sensibilities;—and that vast variety of objects, to which we give the common name of beautiful, become entitled to that appellation, merely because they all possess the power of recalling or reflecting those sensations, of which they have been the accompaniments, or with which they have been associated in our imaginations by any more casual bond of association,'—'and that, as an infinite variety of objects may thus reflect interesting ideas, so all of them may acquire the title of beautiful, although utterly diverse and disparate in their nature, and possessing nothing in common, but this accidental power of reminding us of other emotions.' 'The basis of it'—this theory—'is that the beauty, which we impute to outward objects, is nothing more than the reflection of our own inward emotions, and is made up entirely of certain little portions of love, pity and affection, which have been connected with these objects, and still adhere, as it were, to them, and move us anew, when they are again presented to our observation.'

In attempting to account for the difference between the emotions of beauty, and the primary affections, of which it is the reflection—

'In the first place, it should make some difference on the primary affections, to which we have alluded, that in the cases alluded to, they are reflected from material objects, and not directly excited by their natural causes. The light of the moon has a very different complexion from that of the sun, though it is in substance the same light; and glimpses of interesting or even of familiar objects, caught unexpectedly from a mirror placed at a distance from those objects, will affect us, like some allusions in poetry, very differently from the natural perception of these objects in their ordinary relations. The perception of beauty, too, implies a certain exercise of the imagination, that is not required in the case of direct emotion, and is sufficient of itself, both to give a new character to every emotion, that is suggested through the intervention of such an exercise, and to account for our classing all the various emotions, that are thus suggested, under the denomination of beauty. When we are injured, we feel indignation,

—when we are wounded, we feel pain—when we see suffering, we feel compassion—and when we witness any splendid act of heroism or generosity, we feel admiration, without any effort of the imagination, or the intervention of any picture or vision in the mind. When we feel indignation or pity or admiration, in consequence of seeing some piece of inanimate matter, that merely suggests or recalls to us the ordinary causes or proper object of these emotions, it is evident, that our fancy is kindled by a sudden flash of recollection; and that the effect is produced by a sort of poetical creation, that is conjured up in the mind. It is this active and heated state of the imagination, and this divided and busy occupation of the mind, that constitutes the great peculiarity of the emotions we experience from the perception of beauty.'

Things acquire this power of suggesting emotions, from having been the universal signs, the arbitrary or accidental concomitants of emotions, or from bearing some analogy to them. After remarking that it is easy to conceive that a picture or a statue should affect us nearly in the same manner as the originals, he presents us with the following exemplifications of his theory; they may serve to relieve, for a while, those of our readers, who are not very fond of spinning metaphysical cobwebs.

'Take, for instance, the case of a common English landscape—green meadows with fat cattle—canals or navigable rivers—well fenced, well cultivated fields—neat, clean, scattered cottages—a humble antique church with church yard elms, and crossing hedgerows—all seen under bright skies and in good weather.—There is much beauty, as every one will acknowledge in such a scene. But in what does that beauty consist? Not certainly in the mere mixture of colours and forms; for colours more pleasing and lines more graceful (according to any theory of grace, that may be preferred) might be spread upon a board or a painter's pallet, without engaging the eye to a second glance, or raising the least emotion in the mind;—but in the picture of human happiness, that is presented to our imagination and affections—in the visible and unequivocal signs of comfort and enjoyment—and of that secure and successful industry that insures its continuance—and of the piety by which it is exalted—and of the simplicity, by which it is contrasted with the guilt and the fever of a city life—and the images of health and temperance and plenty, which it exhibits to every eye—and in the glimpses which it affords to warmer imaginations of those primitive or fabulous times, when man was uncorrupted by luxury and ambition, and of those humble retreats, in which we still delight to imagine, that love and philosophy may find an unpolluted asylum. At all events, however, it is human feeling that excites our sympathy and forms the object of our emotions. It is man and man alone that we see in the beauties of the earth, which he inhabits—or if a more sensitive and extended sympathy connect us with the lower families of animated nature, and make us rejoice with the lambs that bleat on the uplands or the cattle that ruminate in the valley, or even with the living plants, that drink the bright sun and the balmy air beside them, it is still the idea of enjoyment,—of feelings that animate the existence of sentient beings—that calls forth all our emotions and is the parent of all the beauty, with which we proceed to invest the inanimate creation around us.

'Instead of this quiet and tame English landscape, let us now take a Welsh or a Highland scene, and see whether its beauties will admit of being explained on the same principle. Here we shall have lofty mountains and rocky and lonely recesses—tufted woods hung over precipices—lakes intersected with castled promontories—ample solitudes of unploughed and untrodden vallies—nameless and gigantick ruins—and mountain echoes repeating the scream of the eagle and the roar of the cataract. This too is beautiful ;—and to those, who can interpret the language it speaks, far more beautiful than the prosperous scene, with which we have contrasted it. Yet lonely as it is, it is to the recollection of man and of human feelings, that its beauty also is owing. The mere forms and colours, that compose its visible appearance, are no more capable of exciting any emotion in the mind, than the forms and colours of a Turkey carpet. It is sympathy with the present or the past, or the imaginary inhabitants of such a region, that alone gives it either interest or beauty ; and the delight of those, who behold it, will always be found to be in exact proportion to the force of their imaginations, and the warmth of their social affections. The leading impressions here are those of romantick seclusion, and primeval simplicity ; lovers sequestered in these blissful solitudes 'from towns and toils remote,' and rustick poets and philosophers communing with nature at a distance from the low pursuits and selfish malignity of ordinary mortals ;—then there is the sublime impression of the mighty power, which piled the massive cliffs upon each other, and rent the mountains asunder, and scattered their giant fragments at their base, and all the images connected with the monuments of ancient magnificence and extinguished hostility—the feuds and the combats and the triumphs of its wild and primitive inhabitants contrasted with the stillness and desolation of the scenes where they lie interred—and the romantick ideas attached to their ancient traditions and the peculiarities of their present life—their wild and enthusiastick poetry—their gloomy superstitions—their attachments to their chiefs—the dangers and the hardships and the enjoyments of their lonely huntings and fishings—their pastoral shielings on the mountains in summer—and the tales and the sports that amuse the little groups that are frozen into their vast and trackless vallies in winter. Add to all this, the traces of a vast and obscure antiquity, that are impressed on the language and the habits of the people, and on the cliffs and caves and gulfy torrents of the land ; and the solemn and touching reflection perpetually recurring of the weakness and insignificance of man, whose generations thus pass away into oblivion, with all their toils and ambition, while nature holds on her unvarying course, and pours out her streams and renews her forests with undecaying activity, regardless of the fate of her proud and perishable sovereign.'

Eloquent as these passages may appear, it is for their eloquence alone we can admire them. These powerful descriptions betray an extreme inconsistency in this writer's opinions. The mere recollection of emotions, which our personal experience would enable such prospects to suggest, would move the mind with a feeble impulse. Robbed of the splendid imagery, in which the imagination invests them, these beautiful scenes would be regarded with a listless eye. We are not aware, that any of what is here considered the beauty of these objects would escape the objections which Mr. Jeffreys urges as conclusive against a part of Mr. Alison's theory.

'The perception of beauty, we hold to be quite instantaneous, and altogether as immediate, as the perception of the external qualities of the object, to which it is ascribed.—In the long train of interesting meditations, to which Mr. Alison refers—in the delightful reveries, in which he would make the sense of beauty consist—it is obvious that we must soon lose sight of the external object, which gave the first impulse to our thoughts ; and though we may *afterwards* reflect upon it with increased interest and gratitude, as the parent of so many charming images, it is impossible to conceive that the perception of *its* beauty can ever depend upon a long series of various and shifting emotions.'

We are not aware, that any one of the impressions, which these scenes strike upon the mind, can be said to depend upon the accidental power of suggesting emotions, which these objects may have acquired by their relation to our past feelings, in the same sense as weeping is said to derive its power of moving our sympathy, from having been the sign of distress, or laughter of gaiety.—The common idea, of which we have been in search, is, according to this theory, the suggestion of emotions. Our readers may be somewhat at a loss to affix a definite meaning to these words. We must confess ourselves to be much in the like predicament. When philosophical tenets are exhibited in a figurative dress, it is not always easy to divest them of their garb of concealment. We cannot shew precisely what signification should be attached to these terms; but we believe we *can* shew, that of whatever they may be deemed significant, they will afford no great assistance in the desired solution of the problem. If it be meant, that objects are beautiful only as they call up the remembrance, of what we have formerly felt, we would willingly rest the decision of this question on the personal experience of any man of taste; whether in most instances the recollection of emotions, modified as it may be by a direct perception, be at all identified with the emotions of beauty. But as it is a fashion of no short duration, when any appeal is made to facts, on a point in controversy, for each party to comprehend and believe only what favours its own side of the question; we shall endeavour to adduce something else in our support.

Take the first example cited from this author, and one certainly not the least favourable to his opinions. If a statue derived its whole beauty from suggesting emotions, which the sight of the original had always produced, the more striking the resemblance, the greater should be the effect. But the statue of an individual, attired in the dress he was accustomed to wear, must impress us with far more lively recollections, than in an ancient garb; why have not statuaries then adopted the costume of the individuals whom they imitate, and not of a remote antiquity? A painted statue is far more like, than the plain marble or plaster; yet those, who have seen the celebrated waxen figures of Mrs. Wright in Europe and this country, have found their whole effect very far from agreeable; the resemblance was perfect, yet few would call the figures beautiful. A painted bust we all know offends the eye. The truth is, the emotions excited by a picture or a statue are very unlike those with which the presence of the original ever does or ever can impress us. Again, the signs of grief, of anger, or of pity would move us with far less power, if they merely reminded us of our own past feelings. Without passions ourselves, we might have remained insensible to their influence. They constitute a language of their own; and our past feelings teach us its letters. But when we have learned to read, it reveals to us truths, which we never knew before; it discloses, what will always possess a strong and permanent interest, the secrets of the hearts of others ; it helps us to solve the enigmas of character, and to unravel the tangled web of human conduct. But as this explanation is refuted by many things in this article itself, we shall not trouble ourselves farther with what the author meant at one time and probably did not mean at another.

As the circumstance of originating a train of interesting recollections, would plainly be inadequate, to distinguish beautiful objects from all others, and to account for all their phenomena, the suggestion of emotions may mean something a little different. When a colour or a sound has long been the sign or concomitant of a grateful emotion, we are apt to regard it with the same feelings, which the thing signified has usually awakened. A particular sound has been heard, as the constant attendant upon joy, and we learn to be moved by the sound itself without any reference to the original cause of the emotion ; very much in the same manner, as men learn to love wealth from its constantly procuring them pleasures or importance ; the means takes place of the end in our affections. This explanation will not include the former, and is defective in omitting that as well as numberless other elements of beauty. A particular form or colour may thus attract our fondness, but the colours of paintings and the forms of statues cannot be regarded as signs of skill in the artist, or natural scenes, as signs of the power and benevolence of the Deity. These do not move, in the same manner, our admiration and affection. In one, the emotions are immediate and almost mingled with the qualities of the object ; in the other, though equally ardent and strong, they are neither direct nor instantaneous. With still less propriety can we consider models in architecture, or mechanical contrivances or mathematical theorems as the signs of fitness or utility. Besides, there are a thousand things, which thus suggest emotions, which are very far from beautiful. The rod, with which he has been whipped, must suggest to the school boy very numerous and violent emotions of rage and mortification, and yet we do not know that he would regard it as either more beautiful or sublime, or even much more ugly or deformed than any other birch. A friend's slippers may reflect our past emotions almost as powerfully as his picture, yet this would hardly entitle them to these appellations. We do not know, that even the example, which so forcibly illustrates the difference between our ordinary recollections, and those called up in the mind by the presence of an object with which they are closely allied, would strengthen this author's theory. We doubt whether the broken spoon, on which the name of London brought at once to the hearts of captain Cook and his companions, in a far distant land, the numberless recollections, that cling around the memory of home, was felt to be peculiarly beautiful. But defective as this explanation appears, it is according to this alone that the perception of beauty can be pronounced instantaneous.

If we accept this writer's statement of his own theory, we have seen that it is entirely unsatisfactory, but we may gather from his own assertions and examples some opinion of this sort, that beauty consists in a power of awakening emotions in any other way than by directly exciting them. This seems fully entitled to be placed in competition with M. Diderot's very definite and significant resolution of beauty into the perception of relations. This is nothing more than comprising under one name many different properties and effects. But comprehensive or rather indefinite as this theory is, it is totally inadequate to fulfil its purpose. To say nothing of those objections, which apply to this in common with the others, it can be strictly applicable to material objects only, and to a portion only of them. The beauty of theorems, poems and of moral conduct, this writer considers, as produced by the suggestion of emotions in a manner somewhat more direct. What to understand by suggesting emotions more directly, we cannot divine; except it be directly exciting them. In some of these objects, nothing to be called an emotion is felt but admiration, and this is of course a direct feeling. Moral beauty affects us instantaneously—it appeals at once to the hearts of those whose sensibilities are not diseased. Whether our love of the morally beautiful or sublime be the gift of education, or the natural and spontaneous dictate of the heart, we love and admire at once, without the intervention of the memory or imagination. If then the only common attribute of beautiful objects be their exciting present or recalling past emotions, it is idle to pursue our inquiries any farther. Whatever pleases or offends, or recalls in any form our past pleasure or disgust may be beautiful, and this is just as much a discriminating characteristick of them, as it is of soft bodies, that they are perceived by the touch.

It is a favourite opinion of this author, strenuously enforced in the illustrations of his theory already presented to our readers, and one which he seems to view as not only an important but a peculiar appendage to it, that the material universe derives its whole interest from accidental connections with the thoughts and feelings of sentient beings. This and his own theory, he seems to regard as leaning upon each other for support, and the truth of the one as indissolubly connected with the truth of the other. We cannot take up the thread of this reasoning. To be interesting and to be beautiful, are often very different, and constantly distinguished from each other in the use of language. But if all material objects were beautiful merely from our sympathy with the enjoyments and sufferings of beings like ourselves, we should not approach a step nearer the conclusion, that their beauty consists in the suggestion of our past emotions. The English landscape and the Welsh mountain scene are rendered more interesting by the remembrance of their past inhabitants, and by the busy creations, with which fancy loves to people them. To engage our sympathy they must exhibit beings, who are susceptible of like sensations with ourselves—with some elements of the human character, however variously modified and combined, by the active and controlling agency of imagination ; something which we can conceive, and imagine that we feel. But while we sympathise with them, we experience something very distinct from the remembrance of our former feelings ; we go along with the joys and sorrows of others, with as strong and direct an impulse, as we love a friend, or resent an injury. We can sympathise with distress, which we have never suffered, and have little reason to apprehend. Whether we are thus enabled to enter into the enjoyments and griefs of others only by conceiving what would be the state of our own minds in their situation, or sympathy be a direct and natural principle, its exertions are easily distinguished from our recollections, however moving or forcibly recalled. Sympathy with the fortunes of beings like ourselves enters indeed very largely into the emotions of beauty. Whatever concerns them, possesses a strong and unfailing interest, and it may be to them, that natural scenery is indebted for its highest charms. But the principles, through which we are affected by these objects, as connected with our own feelings and those of other agents, are essentially distinct, and it is only to confound things entirely different, to refer them to any one law of our constitution.

We might concede to the Platonick school, that it is man alone we behold in the beauty of the material universe, without at all acknowledging that beauty consists in the suggestion of emotions. It might be true, that all beautiful objects present to the mind either ideas of power and benevolence in the Deity, the joys or sufferings of ourselves or our fellow men, the gratifications or the pains of animals lower in the scale of creation, or the busy employment of beings of the mind. But to consider this as a common and peculiar characteristick of these objects, would be no less absurd than to assert it to be the common and peculiar property of men, that they all either think, feel, act, please, offend, move or are moved. Beautiful objects may engage our feelings in behalf of ourselves or of others, of beings, that exist or may be imagined, but some of them do one of these things and some another, and in various ways. We may say then, they all agree in suggesting emotions. But this is not resembling each other in any one quality or effect ; it is only shewn after so much reasoning, that they have a common attribute in a name, differing a little from that commonly applied to them, and neither very significant nor very definite. But we cannot persuade ourselves, that it is necessary to enter any farther into an examination of this theory. If we take the author's statement of it, in its more literal sense, it is founded on a few facts, and seems to constitute, even in them, a sort of explanation, in which nothing is explained ; if we receive it with a more extended meaning, we must in this mode of viewing it, at least, class him among the many who make systems by the abuse of terms, and conceal their emptiness under a cloud of unmeaning phrases.

We have in general confined our objections to examples from material objects, but when we extend our observation to the higher walks of poetry, to moral beauty, and to the beauty of philosophical truth, we are irresistibly impelled to conclude that beautiful objects possess nothing in common but a name. Numerous arguments may be brought to fortify us in this conclusion. They may be sought for in the application of the word taste, which is usually employed to signify the power of feeling or of estimating beauty—of the word ugliness, which, if there were any thing common and peculiar to beautiful objects ought to be equally extensive with that of which it is the reverse—in the differences, which may be discerned in the use of the words, in other languages approaching nearest to the word beautiful in ours—still more in the theories themselves which have been framed on this subject, so numerous and so diverse.

It is true of this class of our pleasures generally, that they are neither vulgar nor purely selfish; we value them highly, because, for the most part, they are more refined than mere sensual indulgence; we value them more, because others can sympathise with our enjoyment. But it is in the individuals or the species, and not in the class, that we are to look for the discriminating features of the beautiful. We may discover what makes a painting or an epick poem beautiful; but when we seek for the substance, the very essence of beauty, we lose ourselves, in abstract subtleties. Beauty is not the same thing in a tune and a statue, in a theorem and a poem. One accurate examination of our feelings, while contemplating a fine work of art, will let us more into a knowledge of its powers and effects, than all the speculations of philosophers on its abstract nature. Indeed the difference between what is beautiful and what is not, is often but a difference of degree;—a little heightened, and the same emotions would be painful; a little depressed, and they would be almost indifferent. Terror many have believed to be the only source of the sublime; the same terror a little strengthened is the object of our aversion. Lightning and thunder are sublime, because they awaken in the mind ideas of undefined danger and prodigious power; the sublimity is heightened by slight personal apprehensions. We look with some pleasure, often with indifference, on the distant lightning; as it approaches, some personal fears mingle with our feelings, the mind is occupied and deeply impressed; but when the near oak is shattered, or the lofty spire prostrated, the sublime swells to the terrifick, and men of weak nerves think only of seeking a shelter from danger. The distant view of a sea fight is sublime, especially where our own countrymen, or those in whose fate we feel an interest, are engaged; to those who have a father or a brother there, it must be attended with extreme suffering. The rumbling sound of an earthquake, to us, who have never experienced any injury from it, is exceedingly sublime; to the inhabitants of Lisbon or Caraccas, to whom it comes attended with so many and anxious fears for personal security, it must be painful in the extreme. All these objects are highly interesting in description, where the emotions are softened, and not accompanied by any thing painful.

Nor is it the sublime alone, which differs but in degree from the disagreeable or the indifferent. Other kinds of beauty are no farther removed from effects almost opposite.

Any of the different qualities, which, combined make an object beautiful, alone or presented under different circumstances, will pass unnoticed. The freshness of health—the expression of innocence—of gaiety or good feeling—of vivacity or intelligence, alone or in a feeble degree, are perfectly indifferent; but when the appearances which indicate youth and health, of moral purity, of sensibility and intelligence are combined in the female countenance, the most stoical cannot view them with indifference. The little mechanical contrivances, which contribute, but not very largely, to our comfort, please us by their utility;—a little better adapted to abridge our labour or promote our happiness, and we pronounce them beautiful. The mathematical theorem, which opens a more direct road to useful truths, gratifies us by its ingenuity; when the process is made more direct and elementary, we admire its beauty. Numberless objects, which please us by their utility, their fitness, by producing some simple emotions, moving the imagination or by suggesting emotions, could their powers be enlarged in a slight degree, would obtain the appellation of beautiful.

The different circumstances, under which we happen to observe an object, often affect very strongly the pleasures it may afford. He, who should see for the first time in his life the work of a good artist, might admire its beauty; but if he should turn from the Apollo to some inferiour production, however admirable in its way or in comparison with others, he would hardly be much affected. Our judgment in matters of taste is often very much influenced, by the expectations we have cherished, by prejudices for or against the author; and although moved in the same way with others, but in a greater or less degree, we should differ with them, as to the epithet we ought to bestow. On the whole, it is quite apparent, that the emotions of beauty are by no means peculiar in their nature, but only in degree; and if this be true of them individually, it is in vain to look through this wide range of objects, for any distinguishing property. The word itself is often used rather vaguely; nor ought this to surprise us, when we consider how eagerly we all indulge our gratitude or revenge, if we may be allowed the expression, towards objects that have much gratified or pained us, by lavishing profusely upon them all the epithets in our language.

If, then, there is no common attribute to beautiful objects, no one thing in them, which claims for all their common appellation; we may regard every thing in them, which bestows or heightens our delight, as an element of beauty. The odours of flowers, the fitness of ornaments in architecture, utility, associations, a power to move any of our simple affections, none of these should be excluded. To pursue our inquiries into the nature of beauty we must examine individual objects, a single poem, or a painting, or a building, and discover what it is that pleases; and every thing which does afford pleasure, enters into the composition of the beautiful.

The emotions, which men of different habits or degrees of sensibility experience even from the same work of art, are often very dissimilar; and the productions of the various arts, often occasion as various effects. The qualities, which delight us in a painting, are not those which delight us in a statue, and still less those which delight us in a piece of musick or a poem. In the same painting, one observer is pleased with the exact imitation of the human form, another with the richness of the colouring, and a third with the striking representation of agitated feelings; an artist is enraptured with the attainment of a difficult excellence, or his imagination is kindled, and recalls resembling beauties in the works of some great master; while to the man of more cultivated taste, all these in turn occupy his attention and conspire in ministering to his delight. In a poem, it is neither a perfect imitation of human character, ample and rich descriptions, novelty of invention, nor finished versification, that will alone engage our interest. Many of those, who admire its beauty, can enjoy only a few of numerous excellences; some of finer sensibility may relish them in all their varieties; while the far greater number receive but a weak impulse from separate beauties, and are alive only to their full power and combined effect. A poem is pronounced beautiful, because it exhibits a happy imitation in imaginary beings of human feelings and actions, or it recalls a vivid conception of sublime scenery, or appeals to our sympathy with the exalted or amiable character of its author, or calls forth a laugh at the follies, or abhorrence at the vices of mankind, or relieves us, tired of gross realities, with the airy sports of fancied agents, or because it diversifies and exaggerates or displays in new lights and varied combinations, the existing objects of our fondness. It is not by any one quality, that we are impressed with the beauty of philosophical writings. La Rochefaucauld's maxims, degrading to human nature as they appear, at least to superficial readers, have found many to admire their beauty, even among those who would read Mr. Stewart's speculations with delight, from the high views, they so constantly exhibit of the capacities and future fortunes of our species. We cannot even select any one circumstance to determine the beauty of a single department of style. We admire the lavish profuseness of words and images, which display unbounded intellectual wealth ; we admire yet more the simplicity, which disappoints our hopes, and derides our efforts to imitate. Sometimes we admire the skill, sometimes the character of the author, and sometimes we lose sight of the author, while rapt in the subject, or hurried along in the current of our own feelings. It is to the discovery of the sources of our enjoyments in these individual objects, that all our researches should be directed. Many facts may be found in which all the arts agree ; and many rules may be carried from one art into another. But it is true of this, as of all other liberal inquiries, that it is more dangerous to extend than to restrict our general principles.

Of the beautiful in the abstract, we can acquire no farther knowledge than of the progressive generalizations of the term. Mr. Jeffreys complains of Mr. Stewart's Essays, that they are merely philological researches ; this is true, but we believe it to be all the subject admits. With Mr. Stewart's conclusions, our readers must, before this, have discovered our disposition to accord. The progressive extension of the words beautiful and sublime, particularly of the latter, which it is his chief design to trace, is rather ingenious than satisfactory. His work is now chiefly of importance to the metaphysician and philologist. But the high finish of his writings and his highly cultivated sensibility must constantly fascinate men of liberal accomplishments. We could have wished that he had devoted more of his attention to the refutation of the theories of other writers than of Mr. Burke. The habits of philosophical research are not such as best to qualify for success in controversy ; and accordingly he does not possess in a high degree those qualities, which most interest us in discussion. He does not, with the same skill, as many of the most accomplished disputants, bring his arguments to a point and produce the unity of impression so essential to the success of a philosophical reasoner. His most important principles are not very clearly distinguished from those which are less so, and are seldom stamped upon the mind with sufficient force to leave very enduring traces behind them. It is not such a book as his that we require. It is rather a collection of the most striking facts in the history of the fine arts, with some classification of the various elements of the beautiful—of those which please in themselves and by their relations—of what is accidental and acquired—or natural and universal in this part of our constitution—compiled with accuracy of observation, rather than theoretical skill or fondness for system.

While engaged in the consideration of the different ingredients, which enter into the composition of the beautiful, we said nothing of the beauty of colours and sounds, as distinguished from their accidental expression. It was a principal object in the design of Mr. Alison to explain the various modes, in which these might become connected with our common feelings. Mr. Stewart and Mr. Knight have since endeavoured to maintain their independent beauty; and Mr. Jeffreys has now taken the field in Mr. Alison's defence. He has here urged, with considerable force and skill, the arguments in proof of their beauty being entirely acquired; it is here indeed that his chief merit lies, and had he acquiesced more fully in what we conceive less disputable doctrines, we should not have been much disposed to quarrel with him. There are, we must confess, considerable difficulties in the decision of this question, and men of sense may differ respecting it, without the imputation of bigotry.—In describing any thing beautiful, we very commonly distinguish between its colouring and expression. We ascribe to the colours themselves very much of the effect, and not unfrequently our pleasure seems to terminate in them. There can be no doubt, that both colours and sounds either have or acquire an intrinsick beauty—in other words, that they please without the production of any other present emotion. As this, however, is the case with many other objects, which are not naturally allied to our affections, if any satisfactory explanation can be given of the origin of their power to please, we should not be warranted to conclude, that they were independently beautiful. We are not altogether contented with the account, which is generally given of the gradual associations, by which these are, at length, enabled so strongly to influence us. In what consists the power of that spectacle—which first attracts the admiration of the youthful enthusiast, and proves the 'form of beauty smiling at his heart,' and continues to afford delight when taste has received its highest culture—the glories which surround and follow the descending sun? Other colours have oftener been combined with the exercise of our affections; if their effect is the result of associations, they would please us more, the nearer they approached to colours or or combinations of colours that had before interested us; yet colours more nearly resembling what we can trace, as related to our former feelings, pass every day unnoticed; and so far is a change of hue from lessening the emotion, that every varying shade often seems more pleasing than the past.

The great difficulty attending a belief in the independent beauty of colours arises from the great diversity of standards by which they are estimated in different countries. Yellow is the most pleasing colour to the Chinese, and black to the Venetians. This argument has been carried a little too far; if admitted in its fullest extent, it is not only inconsistent with their independent beauty, but with the doctrine of associations, at least when regarded as necessary and universal. But the fact itself is by no means demonstrated. We are affected by the descriptions, which poets of distant nations and ages have drawn, of scenery different from our own, and it is the design rather than the colours of works of art, not executed in European taste, that strikes us as defective. Accidental associations may bestow on colours, in themselves ugly or pleasing, an artificial beauty or deformity; and such associations may generally be traced in the caprices of national taste. But admitting these diversities to be much wider, than we believe them to be, they are neither so numerous or glaring, as those in the moral feelings of mankind. Yet this diversity in their moral feelings is not in general deemed sufficient to prove, that men do not, on the whole, approve virtue and condemn vice.

Use has appropriated the word beautiful to the objects, which are discerned by the sight or the hearing; and it is no reason for refusing the name to the gratification of these two senses, that they are generally inferiour in degree to those of the touch, the smell or the taste. To say that the mere sensual gratifications of the eye or the ear *never* rise to the emotions of beauty, is a sort of reasoning that appears to approach a little too near the nature of the circle. We cannot esteem this question of the same importance, which it has usually held from its connexion with particular theories. Our experience is amply convincing, that colours and sounds possess, whether from nature or accident, something to gratify in themselves. When certain combinations of colours are presented to casual observers, the eye itself seems feasted, and they inquire no farther. This is sufficient to show, that colours enter largely into the causes of their gratification.

Of the consequences, which would follow the adoption of the theory of associations, one is stated to be the perfect identity of the sublime, the beautiful and the picturesque. The sublime and the picturesque may, with propriety, be called species of the beautiful, but are sufficiently distinct from its other species. The use of these terms may lead many to conceive that there is a much greater difference between them and the other species, than actually exists. But we must take language as we find it, and not, because some objects equally deserving are destitute of appropriate appellations, condemn others to the like misfortune. These words are now very well understood and distinguished; and although we may speak with Mr. Stewart of the sublime beauties of scripture, the beautiful sublime of a rose might perhaps provoke a smile.

To find some universal standard of taste has been a favourite object of research, and has involved, in numberless perplexities, those, who have inquired into the nature of beauty. Criticks have usually referred to the common sense of mankind as a safe guide, and deduced from the successful efforts of artists or writers, numerous rules, according to which they might praise or censure all future productions. It has been the common fault of writers on this subject, and one necessarily attendant on their particular theories, absolutely to decide, that there is either a general standard for all departments of art, or no standard in any. If taste be a mere matter of feeling, we may speak of it as good or bad, but not of its truth or falsehood; these belong not to feeling, but to opinion. A man prefers Blackmore's Arthur to Homer's Iliad, and we may ridicule his oddness; but if he asserts that the Arthur is more beautiful than the Iliad, can we pronounce his assertion false, or only odd, eccentrick and unnatural? A thing may present itself in two ways for us to determine on its beauty; we may judge, in the capacity of an author, as to his own work, or of a critick as to that of another, how well it is adapted to engage the attention and extort the praises of the publick; or we may speak of its beauty to us, as individuals. In the former case, we must reason from the past decisions of the publick, and obey the canons of criticism, or estimate its probable effect from a more enlarged knowledge of human nature. But it is its effect on us, as individuals, that constitutes its beauty. If beauty in all objects be the same thing, that taste is true which discerns beauty where it exists, and its absence where it does not; but if we call different things beautiful for different reasons, in some instances we may call it true or false, in others only natural or eccentrick.

In analyzing our emotions at the presence of many beautiful objects, we find an exercise of the judgment, involved in our feelings; and the opinion we form may be either correct or erroneous. The perception of utility, of fitness, of the sufficient reason, of an adherence to the rules of an art, of power, skill, &c. is consequent to some decision of the understanding, which may be either well founded or groundless. We may speak of the falsity of his taste, who admires Goldsmith for his force and copiousness of diction, and Darwin for his unaffected simplicity, Shakspeare for adhering to the laws of the drama, or Racine for deep and extensive observation of character, Madame de Stael for faithful delineations of human feeling, and Miss Edgeworth for wild and unearthly creations. In general, taste may be true or false, so far as judgment and knowledge are concerned, or as far as we undertake to determine the universality of the associations, by which we ourselves are influenced. When we speak only of our own inclinations and feelings, they can be considered merely as odd and ridiculous, or natural and proper. If we are more interested in Coleridge, than in Milton, our taste may be ridiculed, but it can only be denominated false, in relation to some rules of art, or exercise of judgment. Arbitrary and individual associations may be equally powerful and interesting with those which are universal. But this can hardly be admitted as a reasonable motive for cherishing a want of conformity to the taste of others. If we wish to gain reputation by the publick display of any liberal accomplishment, we must throw off every thing, that is particular and accidental in this part of our constitution. If we would cultivate a high-toned and innocent morality, it is still more necessary to shut the mind to the dangerous influences of those solitary prejudices, which corrupt and distort our moral sensibilities. Here, to be singular is almost to be criminal; the sources of action are pure, and any new ingredient is too apt to render the waters turbid and bitter and noxious.

The associations, which govern our taste, are closely interwoven with our social affections and private happiness.

The sympathy of our friends heightens these, no less than our other enjoyments. To read an interesting book to a friend recalls, with renewed life, all the emotions, inspired by its first perusal. We are surprised and mortified, if they remain unmoved. It appears to manifest a want of sensibility no less than of understanding. In this consists much of the secret of our friendships and aversions. We can submit to a difference of opinion, but we cannot endure a perpetual crossing of our humours and a total want of fellow feeling. We unavoidably and perhaps justly form in this manner an estimate of character, and a man's taste is often thought a sure key to his intellectual and moral peculiarities. Intimately connected, as the objects of taste are with so much of our business and our conduct, it is of no slight importance that our sensibilities should be open to many of the same impressions as those of our friends, if we need their sympathy or desire their friendship.

If it be necessary to our happiness, that our taste should be conformable to that of others, we must look into the material and intelligent universe for our standard of taste. We must not enslave ourselves to the prejudices of particular arts or particular masters. We must learn to prize the beauties and the moral influences of nature. Whatever is pleasing or grand or impressive in her scenery, must be familiarized, and art be made to bow to her decisions. Art will be liberalized and perfected as it approaches nearer the great models, which are exhibited in the universe. With our admiration of these, all men can learn, in some degree, to sympathise. It is thus that the works of great poets and artists have not been confined to the precincts of a single age. What is adapted to the taste of the times may for a while please more, but it is soon forgotten. It is by habituating the mind to the beauties of nature, that taste is taught to minister to our moral improvement. By allying all that is fair and lovely in her scenery to the best feelings of the heart, even a fine prospect is made to add strength to virtue, and every gratification of taste becomes a new offering of man to his Maker.

In discussing largely the opinions contained in this article, we have said little of the author. He is not entitled to a very high place among philosophical inquirers. There is an indefiniteness in his language, when he undertakes to exhibit his peculiar tenets, that does not usually attend uncommon depth and accuracy of research. His remarks on the theories of other writers are stated with much clearness and force, and in general evince a just apprehension of the nice dependencies, and remote bearings of their opinions and arguments. It is as a writer, rather than as a philosopher, that he is deservedly popular. In a mere sketch of abstract opinions, we do not expect to find a very studied style. Yet here we may discover many of his peculiarities, and some of his excellences. He delights to present to ordinary readers remote thoughts in a familiar garb; and even in discussing what is extremely subtle, he gives them something, which they comprehend, or at least imagine they comprehend. Sometimes, indeed, those who approach from different directions, like the knights in the fable, might dispute, whether the shield be gold or silver, but all believe they have gained a prize. He always writes with ingenuity, and often with effect. On the whole, he usually had rather interest than enlighten; and we should always welcome him rather as a pleasant fellow traveller, than as a confidential guide to truth.

Art. II.—*A bill to establish an uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States.* Washington, February 27, 1818.

This bill gave rise to a discussion, which has not yet lost all its interest, or any of its importance. The question, as to what regulations shall be used for compelling the payment of debts, has always been found one of the greatest delicacy and difficulty; and although the practice of nations, upon this subject, has been extremely various, experience has not yet suggested a system free from important objections. In some countries the insolvent debtor has been viewed merely as a criminal, and punished as such. Other nations have acted upon the idea, that when he had become unable to answer the debt with his property, he should be compelled to do so with his body. In some of the countries of the East Indies, it is said, the creditor may not only reduce the debtor himself to slavery, but, likewise, his wife and children, and that he may even violate the chastity of the wife with impunity, though by so doing the debt is considered as discharged. This custom of selling the body of the debtor, who was unable to make payment, likewise existed at Athens and at Rome. Solon re-formed it at Athens, and in imitation, as it is said, of the Egyptians, abolished all imprisonment for debt. He would not allow an individual, on account of a private obligation, to be withdrawn from the service he owed to the publick. And an ancient historian adds, that some did justly blame many of the *Grecian* law-makers, who forbade arms, ploughs, and other things necessary for labour, to be taken as pledges, and yet permitted the person, who used those instruments, to be imprisoned. But at Rome, the usage existed much longer, and was even incorporated into the laws of the Twelve Tables. The cruelties, which it enabled the creditor to practise, whilst he held his debtor in domestick servitude; and the hardships it caused, if the debtor were transported, as he was liable to be, beyond the Tiber, and sold as a slave in a foreign land, rendered this law extremely odious to the Roman commonalty; and made it the cause of many of those secessions to the Mons Sacer, which sometimes seemed to threaten the very existence of the state. Under the Christian emperours was adopted a regulation of a very different character, by which an insolvent debtor, upon making a general assignment of all his property for the benefit of his creditors, was secured from imprisonment. It was first established at Rome by the Julian law, *de bonis cedendis*, but was afterwards much improved by Justinian, and formed into that system, which now constitutes the part of the civil law called '*cessio bonorum*.'*

Other nations, whilst they have refused the creditor any immediate control over the person of the debtor, have allowed the latter to be confined in the publick prisons, both as a compulsory means of enforcing payment, and as a check to that rashness, with which men are apt to contract debts they have no means of discharging. In France, before the establishment of a system of bankruptcy, imprisonment for debt was practised against merchants, although it was not allowed in other cases. The common law of England, for reasons founded in Feodal policy, did not permit the creditor to seek his remedy either against the land, or person, of the debtor. The first statute in Great Britain, introducing personal execution, was passed in the reign of Edward I, and was intended, as appears from the preamble, to secure merchants, and encourage trade. The enacting clause is in the following words—'And failing goods, the body of the debtor is to be taken and kept in prison till he *agree* with his creditor. And if he have not wherewith to sustain himself in prison, the creditor shall find him in bread and water.' The practice is still continued in England and, we believe, in each of the United States; though its severity is now greatly mitigated by allowing the debtor to be released after a certain time, upon his taking an oath of his inability to pay the debt, or support himself in prison. And even this limited term of imprisonment has lost its terrors, and in many places, even its inconveniences, from the practice, which generally prevails, of extending what are called the *gaol limits*, so as now to make the confinement little more than nominal. The attempts, which are constantly making to legislate upon this subject, either for 'the better security of debts,' on the one hand, or 'the relief of poor debtors,' on the other, manifest the dissatisfaction we feel under our present system; whilst the trifling result of these attempts evinces the difficulty of substituting a better in its place. And it will probably be long before we shall obtain a system suited to all the classes of a community like our own;—a system which, whilst it shows that regard to humanity which the feelings of the age require, shall not trample upon the just rights of creditors, or remove any of those obstacles, which legislators are bound to oppose in the way of dishonesty, idleness, and extravagance.

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* When a debtor applies for the benefit of this law, the creditors are called together to deliberate, whether they will grant him a letter of license, by which he is left free from restraint for a limited time, (*omni corporali cruciatu semoto ;*) or receive from him a general assignment of his property, and discharge him altogether from imprisonment. *Cod. Lib. 7, Tit.* 61. *L.* 8.

But, in the mean time, there is one class in whom the contraction of large debts not only furnishes no evidence of criminal intention, but in most instances is not imputable even to extravagance or imprudence. We mean those engaged in trade and who are more immediately dependent upon the operations of commerce. Trade necessarily supposes the existence of credit, whilst credit places a man's success beyond his own control, and makes him, in a greater or less degree, dependent not only upon the good faith, but even upon the skill, the prudence and the good fortune of others. But at the same time the greater the necessity of credit amongst any class of men, the greater must be the sacredness with which it is preserved, and the more exact the punctuality with which engagements are fulfilled. It was therefore soon found, that the ordinary means for enforcing the payment of debts would not answer the purposes of an extensive and liberal commerce. Hence has arisen, in almost every commercial country of the world, that system of laws, denominated Bankrupt Laws. It is a common but very great mistake to suppose, that this system is intended merely or principally for the relief of the debtor. Those, who have hitherto opposed its adoption by us are, for the most part, such as, considering the inefficiency of our present laws for the security of the creditor, have thought that the mischief would be increased by giving to debtors that more complete relief, which they imagine it is the sole object of a bankrupt system to afford. But the fact is, wherever such a system has been adopted, it has been with a view to the creditor's advantage. The first statute of bankruptcy passed in England was enacted in the reign of Henry VIII, when the principles of commerce first began to be understood. It is entitled 'an act *against* those who make bankrupt;' and the preamble, which is in the following words, will show the spirit in which the act was framed, and the objects it had in view.—'Where divers and sundry persons craftily obtained into their hands great substance of other men's goods, do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not minding to pay or restore to any of their creditors, their debts and duties, but at their own wills and own pleasures consume the substance obtained by credit of other men, for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity and good conscience. Be it therefore &c.' Throughout this and several of the subsequent statutes, the bankrupt is uniformly styled an offender. In process of time, however, more liberal views began to prevail; and it was thought practicable to give these laws such a character as should operate beneficially upon the debtor as well as the creditor; and make them the means of preventing oppression in the one, as well as fraud in the other.

In France the word *bankrupt* yet retains its original signification, and is used to denote a criminal. The laws of that country* make mention of two kinds of bankruptcy—simple and fraudulent—the former arising from imprudence or extravagance; the latter, as the word denotes, attended with some circumstances of fraud or unfairness. Both species of bankrupts are amenable, though in different degrees, to the criminal laws. A person, whom we should denominate a bankrupt, that is, one who has become unable to pay his debts, but without fault, is said in France, merely to have failed, and is styled *failli.* The bankrupt law of Spain makes a similar division of insolvencies with that of France,—as they are marked merely by misfortune, by negligence or by fraud; and directs that persons, guilty of the latter kinds, be delivered over to the civil authorities for punishment. Thus we find that these are laws against debtors. And though they do in the end afford succour—most liberal and humane succour—to misfortune; we are authorized in the assertion, that this has, in no country, been the primary object of their enactment, or the only important one which they are considered capable of accomplishing.

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* Les Cinq Codes De L'Empire Français. Code de Commerce, Liv. iii. A translation of the Code de Commerce, with learned notes, may be found in the American Review, Vol. ii. No. 2.

The principal advantages of a bankrupt law may be stated to be—that they give the creditors a power of checking the career of their debtor, before he shall have stripped himself of the means of making any satisfaction of his debts;—that they bring to light property of the debtor which would otherwise be concealed from view;—that they place creditors whose claims are equally meritorious upon an equal footing;—that they entitle the creditor to the fullest acquaintance with the affairs of the debtor; and that they offer, some of them by direct punishments, others indirectly, discouragements to imprudence and extravagance. To effect these objects, the debtor is threatened, on the one hand, with the severest punishments, if he attempts to evade the injunctions of the law; and, on the other, he is promised, in case his conduct has been fair and honest, greater or less facilities for commencing anew a course of honest industry. These are professedly the objects of all bankrupt laws, though they have been stated with more particular reference to the English system, to which our remarks will be principally applied. The bill which we have placed at the head of this article, and which is the one lately debated in congress, is framed entirely upon the principles of the English law; and should we ever be so fortunate as to obtain a uniform system of bankruptcy, it will in all probability be one after the same model. To the countries we have already mentioned as having adopted the bankrupt system, should be added that of Holland, although its laws on this subject contain no important characteristicks which are peculiar to themselves. This consentaneous practice of all commercial countries would seem of itself to furnish an argument upon the subject. The same experience, which has taught them, will probably in time teach us, that some regulations of the kind are required by the necessities of commerce.

We have observed that one of the advantages to creditors contemplated by a bankrupt law is,—that it gives them the power of checking the debtor's career, when it appears that his affairs have taken a disastrous turn. Perhaps, in this particular, they have not answered their purpose so well as was anticipated. The law of England has specified certain acts of the debtor,—such as staying at home, and denying himself to a creditor who comes to demand payment; flying from the country; lying in prison for a certain time without procuring bail, &c. &c.;—which are technically denominated 'acts of bankruptcy.' It was probably the object of the statute merely to point out some examples of what might be considered the indicia or signs of insolvency. But owing to the construction which has been given to this clause, any one of the acts enumerated, of itself, makes a man bankrupt, and no other proof of insolvency, however conclusive, can be admitted to supply their place. As all the acts, except the one of lying in prison without procuring bail, are voluntary on the part of the debtor; it follows that a man may be, and in fact it often happens that he is, notoriously and avowedly insolvent, long before his debtors can subject him to the bankrupt laws; whilst on the other hand a man, by committing one of these acts, may be made a bankrupt, though he has property sufficient to pay twice the amount of debts which he owes. In the law of France, as it existed before the revolution, *flight* was the only 'act of bankruptcy,' mentioned in the sense in which the term is used in the English law. In other cases, if a man refused payment, closed his shop or counting room, made a fraudulent assignment of his property, or committed some other *overt* act of insolvency; any one creditor might apply to the consular court, who thereupon cited the debtor before them, when the question of 'solvent or insolvent' was tried in a summary way; the debtor being obliged to produce at the trial all his books and papers. If he were found insolvent, the seals were affixed to his effects and property; and the bankruptcy was considered as commencing from the moment of affixing the seals. In the commercial code of Napoleon the overt acts, upon which the proceedings against the debtor must be founded, are particularly specified; and the bankruptcy is considered as commencing from the time, that one or more of them are committed. So that in this particular there is now no real difference between the systems of England and of France. It may not be expedient to allow the solvency of the debtor to be called in question from caprice or groundless suspicion, as might sometimes be done, if the law were to leave the acts of bankruptcy or signs of insolvency entirely undefined. But if the laws undertake to enumerate these acts, the enumeration should, surely, be as general and as complete, as the nature of the case will admit of. In this respect the English laws certainly appear susceptible of improvement;—an improvement, however, which was not even attempted in the Bill now under consideration. An entire stoppage of payment, unless attended by some one of the few acts mentioned in the statute, would not authorize creditors in England to sue out a commission of bankruptcy against their debtor. Whether it would upon the whole be advisable to increase the number of what are termed 'acts of bankruptcy' or not, it certainly would be doing no more than justice to creditors, to point out other circumstances, under which, according to the old rule of the French law, they would be authorized to put in issue the question of their debtor's solvency or insolvency. But notwithstanding this defect in the English system, its influence even in the respect we are now considering has not been unimportant. For to say nothing of the probability that an insolvent person will commit some one or another of the 'acts of bankruptcy,' he is much more likely, where such a system is in operation, to make an early disclosure of his situation, than he would otherwise be. Under laws like our own, a man in embarrassed circumstances, so far from finding encouragement to avow the state of his affairs, looks forward to an acknowledged failure, as to an event by which all his hopes must be eternally blasted. To pay the whole of his debts he knows he is unable; and to effect a compromise of them, can hardly appear much easier, whilst the success of the most equitable arrangement he can propose, may be defeated by a single hardened or exasperated creditor. He therefore studiously conceals his situation, and seeks to recover himself from it by desperate efforts. He rushes headlong into the most unbounded speculations; until when he falls, as in most instances he will, it is to draw others after him, who would otherwise have stood unmoved. But under a bankrupt law, failure would not be viewed as absolute and irretrievable ruin. A person, therefore, in fact insolvent, finding fewer temptations to the contrary, would be more likely to yield to the dictates of honesty, and make a seasonable acknowledgment of his embarrassments. Besides this, the debtor knows that before he can obtain the benefits of the law, his whole conduct must be laid open to the inspection of his creditors, and obtain their approbation. And he can hardly flatter himself with obtaining (as it is necessary he should) the assent of two thirds of them to his discharge, if after having himself become apprized of his situation, he shall go on to waste his resources and extend his difficulties, by obstinate and useless attempts.

But another great advantage, which we mentioned, as resulting from a bankrupt law,—perhaps it is the greatest,—is the giving an equal chance to creditors, whose claims are founded in equal justice. The whole system of favoritism in the payment of debts,—with all its train of assignments, trusts, secret conveyances and friendly attachments,—is destroyed at a blow. By our present laws a debtor has a perfect right to prefer any one creditor to the utter neglect of the rest ; and even an assignment to secure endorsers who have not yet incurred any liability is good, and will be protected. In consequence of which, merchants have now established the principle amongst themselves, that endorsements and accommodation loans are to be satisfied to the last farthing, though the other creditors should thereby be compelled to lose their whole demands. Endorsers, who have given to the debtor that show of wealth, by which others have been induced to trust him ; who have lent him the false colours under which he has been enabled to push his enterprises beyond what prudence would authorize or his real capital could support ;—they are to be paid—principal and interest—whilst the trader, who has had no dealings with the debtor but in the ordinary course of business, is to obtain nothing. A merchant's endorsers are commonly those who are best acquainted with his transactions, and would probably be the first to discern any unfortunate turn in his affairs ; yet they may be kept quiet by the assurance that in any event they shall be secured ;—whilst the debtor goes on to make new purchases, and contract new debts. They too, who, for the same reason, could best tell where to seek for the credits and secret property of the debtor, are to be satisfied and quieted by an assignment of all his *visible* property ; whilst the other creditors, some of whom probably furnished, upon the sole responsibility of the debtor, the identical goods which have gone to secure the endorsers, are left to seek out the *invisible* property, as good fortune may direct them. The prevalence of this idea, that endorsers are at all events to be secured, would of itself furnish a sufficient argument for the establishment of some system of bankruptcy. And so far is such a system from encouraging men, as is sometimes alleged, to trade too far beyond their capital, that in this way it would have a directly opposite effect. If endorsers were obliged to share, alike with other creditors, ther ashness with which names are now lent would be checked; and there would be less of that false credit, which a man obtains from the fact, that he has in some instances commanded the guaranty of those who are better known, and more confided in, than himself. But a preference of any creditor, whether an endorser or not, may extend the mischief of a failure infinitely farther, than it would otherwise have reached. Many a man has been ruined by the failure of another, who would have remained unshaken, could he have obtained such a dividend, as the property of the debtor was able to furnish. It is the object of the law of Bankruptcy, like that of insurance, to divide amongst many a loss, which must fall somewhere. Under our law authorizing attachments on *mesne* process, it is next to impossible for the debtor, however honestly inclined he may be, and however clear his perception of what is right, to make a proportionable distribution of his property. A proposal of the kind would be an acknowledgment of insolvency; and there is scarcely a creditor who would not consider it as an invitation to secure his whole demand by making the first attachment. An assignment, too, for the benefit of creditors generally, is void; one for the benefit of particular creditors is only good as to those who assent to it. And a man may reasonably calculate, that so many will agree to an assignment, as may thereby be secured the whole of their debts. An insolvent person therefore, seeing that he cannot deal equally with all, naturally enough perhaps, avails himself of the privilege which the law allows, and gives the preference to those by whom he has felt himself most obliged in the course of his business, or to those in whom, from friendship or affinity, he feels the strongest interest.

Again, it is an object of bankrupt laws, to discover and secure property of the debtor which might otherwise escape the view, or elude the grasp, of the creditor. A very large part of the wealth of every merchant is of that invisible kind, termed credits. Under our present law it is always difficult to ascertain where this kind of property is; and sometimes impossible to obtain any benefit from it, when discovered. If, for instance, the debtor has thousands owing to him upon negotiable notes; we have no means of compelling him to make payment, but the dilatory and now ineffectual one of imprisonment. But by a bankrupt law every species of property, whether consisting of lands, goods or credits, is instantly devested out of the bankrupt, and transferred to assignees, who hold it for the benefit of all the creditors. The bankrupt is compelled to give upon oath, and under the severest sanctions of the law, the most unreserved account of his property, of its situation, of his conduct towards it, and of the causes by which his losses have been occasioned. Thus creditors are furnished with every facility, which can possibly be given them, for bringing within their view and control all the property of the debtor. They are likewise let into the history of his misfortunes; and are then left to decide how much mercy he is entitled to receive. We have already stated that the laws of France and Spain, for the purpose of discouraging extravagance and imprudence, have provided punishments for bankruptcies arising from such causes. The laws of England think to attain the same object, by making it optional with the creditors, in every case, whether they will sign the certificate, by which alone the debtor can be discharged from farther liability.

It has been plausibly objected to these laws, that they have a tendency to multiply crimes. And the various kinds of fraud, for which they provide punishments, are referred to in support of the objection. This appears as correct, as it would be to say, that the laws against robbery create crimes. In truth, they do so. But then, in both instances, the acts contemplated by the laws precede the laws. Thus men, '*animo furandi,*' do secretly or violently possess themselves of their neighbour's property; and then laws are enacted, by which such conduct is for the future made criminal. So debtors do now conceal their property from view—they satisfy one favourite or dreaded creditor to the utter neglect and perhaps ruin of others—they make false representations of their affairs—and continue to live in idleness upon property, which in justice belongs to other men. All these acts are already practised; and a bankrupt law would merely pronounce them criminal, and provide punishments for their commission. It is true that under the best system of bankruptcy, frauds will still, in some instances, be committed; and so, men do sometimes steal, the State Prison notwithstanding; and yet we do not consider this as a reason for abolishing our laws against larceny. As to the bloody sanctions of the British bankrupt law, they are but a counterpart to the rest of the criminal code of that country. There must be something very singular in the construction of a bankrupt law, if it really furnish facilities or temptations to the very crimes, it was made to interdict. In France, although formerly some species of fraudulent bankruptcies were punished with death, yet after a long experience upon the subject, it is now considered safe, in no case of the kind, to allow a severer punishment than imprisonment for life, and in very few, a severer than imprisonment for a limited term. Imprisonment for years was the highest penalty mentioned in the former law of the United States, or in the Bill we are now considering. Indeed, the man who adds perjury to fraud for the sake of securing to himself property, which in law and morality belongs to his creditor; who seeks to avail himself of the liberal rewards of the bankrupt system, whilst he evades its just requisitions, can scarcely be considered better, than the one who secretly takes a purse from the pocket of a stranger. Since, therefore, the laws of England have seen fit to punish robbery with death, it was with perfect consistency, that they provided a similar punishment for cases of fraudulent bankruptcy.

It only remains for us to consider the provision which the bankrupt law makes for the protection and relief of the debtor. And here we will notice the most important, and in fact, the only essential difference between the system of England, and those of the commercial countries on the continent of Europe. In France, when the person and effects of the debtor have been secured, and the creditors have been furnished with the statement of his property, his debts, and the causes of his misfortunes, if there appear no reason for suspecting him of bankruptcy, that is, of fraud or criminal extravagance, he is permitted to make the best general compromise with his creditors, that he can. The compromise, in order to be binding, must have been proposed at a regular meeting of the creditors, and approved by the vote of three fourths in number and value. The terms of it vary according to circumstances. Sometimes there is a general assignment of the debtor's property, and a release, general or partial, on the part of the creditors. Sometimes there is no assignment, but the creditors give the debtor a kind of letter of license, or, in other words, give him an extended term of credit. The same mode of proceeding prevails in Holland and Spain; and the whole plan is founded in a slight extension of the principle of the civil law rule concerning the '*cessio bonorum*.' The only advantage then, (but this is a very great one,) given the debtor by the bankrupt laws of those countries, is the freeing him from the caprice or revenge of any single creditor, and enabling him to effect such a compromise, as shall appear fair and equitable to a specified majority. But in England the rule is different. Having made a proportionable distribution of the whole property of the debtor; if no fraud can be charged upon him, and two thirds in number and value of his creditors will give their consent thereto, the law discharges him from any farther liability on account of the debts which were, or might have been, proved under the commission. This provision we believe to be founded in justice and practical good sense. The law sees the extreme improbability, not to say impossibility, that the creditors will reap any real benefit from retaining their power over the debtor, after they have once stripped him of all his property. Take the most favourable situation in which the debtor is likely to be placed under the French law; suppose that he has obtained a renewed term of credit, after his insolvency has been published to the world, as it must have been by the proceedings under the bankrupt law, is it possible that he will obtain that character for responsibility, which is absolutely necessary to his carrying on business to the smallest advantage? Will the same creditors trust him, to whom he already owes more than he is able to pay? Will others, when they know that, at the end of a certain time, his property must become answerable for debts which he has not, at present, the means of discharging? The chance must be very small, that at the expiration of the term of credit, he will be able to make a more complete satisfaction of his debts, than he could have done at the moment of the failure. The law of England, therefore, takes from the creditor no real advantage. True, it deprives him of a right, he would otherwise possess;—but it is a barren, useless right;—a right to strip the naked, and to butcher the dead;—or else it is a right wantonly to oppress and to punish, without prospect of producing amendment. The man who desires such a right is not fit to be trusted with it. But whilst this provision, in fact, takes nothing from the creditor, it gives every thing to the debtor. Without it, stripped of his property, and the weight of his former liabilities pressing upon him, it is impossible he should ever rise. Indeed, the restoration of the debtor to his hopes and his usefulness, seems not to have made a part of the policy of the French law. A failure in France operates as a sort of civil death.* The insolvent debtor can hold no civil office, cannot be an exchange broker, executor, trustee or guardian, can never appear upon the publick exchange, until he has obtained a decree of '*rehabilitation*,' or restoration to his former rights of a merchant. And the condition of his obtaining this *rehabilitation* is, that 'he prove that he has paid the whole of his debts with interest and costs.'

A bankrupt law is intended merely for traders. But owing to the loose construction which has been given to the English statute, its benefits are often claimed by men for whom they were never intended, and whose embarrassments have in no degree arisen from the accidents of trade. The law formerly existing in the United States had, in this part, copied the expressions of the English statute, and was similarly construed. This circumstance was attended with great inconveniences; which the Bill now before us had provided against, by using such expressions as would have confined its operation to the proper objects of such a law. Yet this feature of the Bill has been made a ground of argument against it. We would only observe in reply, that whether a bankrupt law, which shall apply to every class of citizens, be desirable or not, we do not believe that it is for *Congress* to make such a law. The expression, 'uniform system of bankruptcy,' was undoubtedly used in the constitution, in the sense which every commercial nation in the world had attached to it; and such a power was given to Congress, as part of their general power of regulating commerce with foreign nations, and between the different states. It was wisely given for the purpose of preventing those evils we are now suffering from the operation of the bankrupt laws of the individual states. But it is only traders who have any extensive connexions with the citizens of other countries, or other states. The debtors and creditors of men, who are not engaged in trade, may generally be found within the compass of a small neighbourhood.

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* The French Constitution of 1799, which, we believe, continued in force until the restoration of the Bourbons, contained this clause;—' The exercise of the right of a French citizen is suspended *par l'etat de debiteur failli*.'

Montesquieu mentions, in terms of strong approbation, a law of Geneva, by which the children of a person, who had died insolvent, were excluded from civil offices, until they had discharged the debts of their parent. Esp. des Loix, liv. xx. chap. 16.

Let Congress then pass a bankrupt law, in the proper sense of the word; that is, one which shall apply to merchants and traders. And afterwards, if any state thinks it expedient to pass a similar law, which shall apply to farmers, lawyers, day labourers, or all other classes of their own citizens, there is nothing to prevent their so doing. We should have no objection to seeing the experiment made, although we have no wish that our own state should be the first to make it. Because a farmer, from a momentary inability to discharge a debt, should happen to commit an 'act of bankruptcy,'—instantaneously to transfer his land and all his other property from his possession; to subject him to the jurisdiction of an extraordinary tribunal; to compel him, under the heaviest penalties, to give testimony against himself,—would, we suspect, be considered a most grievous hardship; whilst there is nothing in the pursuits of a farmer, or in the nature of his property, which demands, as in the case of the merchant, or even justifies such a departure from established usage. And as to the benefits which a law of the kind affords to the debtor, it is only the trader who is obliged by the very nature of his pursuits to contract extensive debts. Other men may occasionally be disappointed of a part of their expected income, but the merchant puts his whole capital at risque. He, too, is exposed to perils and accidents by which other men cannot be affected. A storm on the ocean—the carelessness of a sailor—the failure of a foreign merchant—or a change in the politicks of a foreign government, may defeat the best commercial scheme, and reduce its projector from opulence to beggary. After all, commerce is but a game of hazard; although, like other games, it has its rules, which it requires judgment to understand and skill to apply. But in other pursuits, knowledge and industry and perseverance are pretty sure to reach the objects at which they are aiming. In other pursuits, at least, the amount of profits may be calculated before hand, with some degree of exactness; and it is a man's own fault, if he does not make his profits the measure of his expenses.

But the most important reason for granting this relief to traders is, that without it, they can never recover from the effects of an insolvency. Credit is the life-blood of their business; and this, a man who has publickly failed will in vain seek for until he has freed himself from his former liabilities. Such a person, therefore, unfitted by his education for other pursuits, unless relieved by a bankrupt law, generally becomes a useless burden to society. The number of persons of this description in the United States, is already alarmingly great; and must be daily increasing. Among them are thousands and tens of thousands, once distinguished for talents, enterprise, industry and activity; who entered upon life with high hopes and flattering prospects. Many of these have so long been the victims of anxiety and disappointment, that their habits of industry are now lost—their spirit of enterprise is broken down, and their talents are dissipated. But this is not the worst. Many—very many, it is to be feared, have been living from day to day, upon property not their own; and which they have hid from the view of creditors, to whom it belongs, by the veil of fraud and prevarication, till their moral feelings have become blunted, and the bread of dishonesty has lost its bitter taste. But yet there are many others, whom a bankrupt law would awaken to new life, and restore to their wonted pursuits, with most of their former hopes and all their former capacities for usefulness.

Art. III.—*A Geographical Dictionary, or Universal Gazetteer; Ancient and Modern. By J. E. Worcester, A. M.* 2 vols. 8vo. Andover, Flagg & Gould, 1817.

It is remarkable that a people, who have so extensive an intercourse as we have with foreign nations, and who universally feel a strong interest in the history and politicks of every country, should be so deficient as we are, in geographical knowledge. A moderate acquaintance with geography is one of the rudiments of general education. Without it, many other studies cannot be advantageously prosecuted, and much of the intercourse of common life cannot be profitably carried on. It is more particularly necessary to the successful study of history, for all writers of history suppose their readers to be competently versed in a branch of education so obviously important.

The people of this country are perhaps not particularly attached to the study of general history; but it is certainly a trait of their character, to be curious and anxious about the history of their own times. We are a news-seeking people, and a very large proportion of the reading of the great body of our countrymen consists of the news of the day, and a great part of their study is in investigating and digesting the confused and imperfect accounts of recent events in all parts of the world, as they are presented, without connexion or explanation, in the newspapers. It is studies of this sort, that a knowledge of geography serves more particularly to facilitate, than any other. Yet of this study, which seems so peculiarly appropriate to us, we are of all people the most generally ignorant.

The principal cause of our neglect of this branch of education is probably the deficiency of our means for becoming accomplished in it. We have suffered greatly, for want of suitable elementary books in geography and statisticks. The political condition of the world has been for many years past so unstable, that no man, who valued his reputation, has been willing to undertake the labour of giving a satisfactory view of the geography of the day. The consequence has been, that all the treatises of universal geography, which have been published in the English language, have assumed, as a groundwork, the state of the world as it was described many years ago; and those who have, from time to time, attempted to accommodate them to existing circumstances, have been grossly incompetent to the task.

Most of our own publications on European geography are very imperfect compilations from English works; and the English have been, for many years past, very far behind their continental neighbours in knowledge on this subject. The Germans have so far excelled us in this department of knowledge, that the best geography of our own country has been published by them, and in a language which few of us understand. There are many compendious treatises of geography in common use in our schools; but most of them are poor abridgments of very imperfect originals, compiled by persons entirely ignorant of the sources of correct and authentick information.

In this state of this department of knowledge among us, it is gratifying to find a work of this description undertaken by a person in any measure competent to the task, and with a degree of industry that can entitle him to success. If he has not been fully successful, his failure ought to be attributed to the magnitude of the undertaking, to the peculiarly difficult period at which he undertook it, and to the impossibility of obtaining at that time, in this country, a great portion of the proper materials for the work.

Before proceeding to a particular examination of this work, it may be proper to give a brief sketch of the principal geographical changes, which have taken place since the compilation of the standard works in common use among us, and since the date of a great part of the knowledge which most of us possess on this subject. A full history of these changes is much wanted. The general sketch, which the present occasion will admit of, will not supply the deficiency, yet it may be of some use to our readers.

In this sketch, it will be necessary to go back to the period of the commencement of the French revolution, in the year 1789. The political state of Europe,—the most important portion of the world,—at this period, is familiar to all readers. The states, which then existed, had grown old without having sustained any material change, and it had been for a long succession of years, deemed essential to the safety of the whole, that the distribution of territories between them, as it then subsisted, should not be disturbed. The conquests of a powerful state were checked by the envy of its powerful neighbours, and the weak were protected for the benefit of the strong. The states of Europe, as then constituted, had, in consequence, acquired a stability and permanency, which rendered their condition and character susceptible of being studied and understood. But since that period, greater changes have been made in the space of a single year, than had been before recorded during a century.

Europe at this period was divided between twenty six independent governments, consisting of two elective monarchies, seventeen hereditary monarchies or principalities, and seven republicks. In this enumeration, the German Empire is considered as one government. These twenty six states, however, were very unequal in extent and power. The five great states of Russia, Prussia, Austria, France and Great Britain, held dominion over more than three fifths of the territory, and nearly three fifths of the population of Europe. The eight secondary states of Sweden, Denmark, Poland, the United Provinces, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey, embraced about one third of the territory, and one fourth of the population. The empire of Germany, consisting of a great number of small states, united under a common head, and the twelve small states of Italy made up the rest of the European commonwealth.

It was however but a small proportion of these powers, that were strictly independent, and at liberty to pursue an entirely voluntary course of policy. For example, Spain, Naples, Parma, Genoa, Venice, Switzerland and some of the German States, were, by their situation or alliances, more or less dependent upon France; the United Provinces and Portugal upon Great Britain; Denmark and Sweden upon Russia; the Northern German Princes upon Prussia; the Southern—with Tuscany and other States of Italy—upon Austria.

This favourite distribution of territories, called the balance of Europe, was first disturbed by the annexations made to France. In September 1791, the king accepted the constitution, by which the ancient division of the kingdom into provinces was abrogated, and an entirely new division into eighty three Departments, which were subdivided into Districts and Cantons, was established in its place. The departments as then established, with few exceptions, remain to this day. At the same time, Avignon and Venaisin—enclaves in France, but a part of the temporal dominions of the Pope,—were united to France by the Constituant Assembly. Six years afterwards, these districts were regularly ceded by the Pope. A number of German Princes were also, by the same act of the Constituant Assembly, deprived of their feudal rights in land situated in France.

In September 1792, war was declared against Sardinia. Savoy was soon captured and annexed as the eighty fourth department; and in the beginning of the year following, Nice and Monaco, also conquered from the king of Sardinia, were erected into the eighty fifth. These territories were, in May 1796, relinquished to France, by treaty. In 1793, the island of Corsica was formed into two departments, but in 1811, these were united into one. This island forms one department at this day. In the beginning of the year 1793, the French armies advanced into the Netherlands, and the National Convention issued decrees annexing several of the Austrian Provinces to the Republick, but the French troops were soon driven within their own frontiers by the Austrians and Prussians, and these decrees were never carried into execution. In the year following, however, the French, after the battle of Fleurus, advanced rapidly into the Netherlands, and made a permanent conquest of the whole country. In the year 1795, the whole Austrian possessions on the left of the Rhine, and some small districts ceded by the Batavian Republick, were, by decree of the National Convention, formed into nine departments, and formally united with France. These possessions were finally ceded by Austria, two years afterwards, at the peace of Campo Formio, and have never since reverted to her.

In the year 1798, the city and territory of Geneva were by treaty united with France, and, with the north part of Savoy, formed into a department. The same year, the island of Malta was conquered by Buonaparte, and ceded by the Knights of St. John to the French Republick. This island was, however, soon afterwards conquered by Great Britain, and is holden by that country to this day.

By treaty with the king of Prussia, in 1795, France was allowed to remain in possession of the territories on the left of the Rhine, until the boundary should be settled at a general peace. By the treaty of Luneville, in 1801, the Thalweg of the Rhine, from its leaving the Swiss territory to its entering the limits of the Batavian Republick, was recognized as the boundary between France and Germany. Soon afterwards, the country on the left of the Rhine, thus severed from Germany, including the Electorate of Treves and Cologne, part of the electorate of Mentz, and some other small states, was formed into four departments, and declared an integral part of the French Republick.

In 1802, the island of Elba, which had been the year before ceded by the grand duke of Tuscany, and the king of Naples and Sicily, was annexed to France, with the right of sending a delegate to the legislative body, and having its government administered by a commissioner, though not considered as a department. The same year, Piedmont, which had been for several years provisionally under the government of French military officers, was erected into six departments, forming the twenty seventh military division, and received into the body of the republick.

In May 1804, France dropped the name of a Republick, and received Buonaparte as emperour; and soon after, the other European Republicks, formed under French auspices, began to disappear from the list of nations. The Ligurian Republick was in July 1805, at its own request, admitted as a member of the empire, and, with a part of the Piedmontese territory, formed into three new departments. In this arrangement, one of the departments, lately formed from Piedmont, was suppressed.

In December 1807, the Duchy of Tuscany, which had for a few years borne the name of the kingdom of Etruria, and in May following the Duchy of Parma and Placentia, which had, for some years, been under a French provisional government, were annexed to the empire, and formed into four departments.

The next new department was formed in the interiour of France, by a new organization of some of the old departments.

In May 1809, by a decree issued at Vienna, the Papal states, which had been for some time in possession of French troops, were declared united with the empire, and soon after, a special commission, appointed by Buonaparte, took into their hands the administration of the government at Rome. In February following, they were definitively formed into two departments. The city of Rome was declared the second city of the empire, and entitled to special privileges. The Prince imperial was to receive the title of King of Rome, and a Prince of the blood, or grand dignitary, was to reside at Rome, and hold there the emperour's court. In July of the same year, a decree was issued uniting Holland with France, and in December following, by a senatus consultum, Holland, the Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Lauenburgh, and a tract of territory, extending from the Rhine to the Baltick, including the Duchy of Oldenburgh, Aremburg, and Salm, and embracing the mouths of the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe, were definitively united with the empire, and formed into twelve departments. About this time, also, the little Swiss Republick of the Valais, was made a French department ; and, in the year following, a further encroachment was made upon the German territories, by taking from the new kingdom of Westphalia, the bishoprick of Munster, and establishing the one hundred and thirtieth department, called the Lippe. This was the last annexation to the territories of France. The additions, thus made in the space of twenty years to France, were equal in extent and population to one half the original kingdom.

Besides the territories thus incorporated with the empire, the countries on the Adriatick, detached from Austria at the peace of Vienna in 1809, were erected into a separate government, under officers appointed by the emperour, and called the Illyrian Provinces.

The Austrian monarchy was during this period involved in several bloody wars, nearly all of which terminated in some important territorial changes. The emperour, at the commencement of it, had, by his projects of aggrandizement and schemes of reform, excited great jealousy among his neighbours, and disaffection among his own subjects. The low country provinces, in the year 1789, openly revolted and declared themselves independent, under the name of the *Belgick United States*, but the year after, they were obliged to return to their allegiance.

On the other side, the emperour had succeeded in taking Belgrade from the Turks; but in 1791, he was induced to make peace with the Porte, relinquishing all his conquests; and the Austrian frontier has not been extended on the side of Turkey from that day to this. In the year 1792, the Austrian Netherlands were overrun by the French, in the year following were recovered by Austria, and in 1794 were finally conquered by France. In 1795, on the final division of Poland, Austria received a second portion of the territories of this country, which was annexed to Gallicia. This acquisition embraced twenty thousand square miles of territory, and a population of two and a half millions. In 1796, the Austrians were driven from their possessions in Italy, and in the year following the emperour relinquished by treaty the whole of the Netherlands, and Austrian Lombardy, consisting of the Duchy of Milan and Mantua. He also consented on his part, and engaged to use his endeavours to gain the consent of the empire, that the French Republick should extend its boundary to the Rhine. He consented to the annexation of the Duchy of Modena to the Cisalpine Republick, and engaged to give the Brisgaw to the Duke as an indemnity, to be holden by him on the same terms as he had holden Modena. He was permitted, however, in return, to annex to his dominions, the city and the greater part of the territories of Venice. By this treaty, Austria lost a population of three and a half millions, and the territories received in exchange contained a population amounting to about half that number.

In 1801, by the treaty of Luneville, Austria gave up a small part of her Venetian territories, and accepted the Thalweg of the Adidge as the southern boundary. In 1804, the emperour Francis II. assumed the title of Hereditary Emperour of Austria, with the name of Francis I.; and two years afterwards, renounced the title and prerogatives of emperour of Germany. After the disastrous campaign of 1805, which was terminated by the peace of Presburgh, the emperour was compelled to give up all the Venetian states, which were then united by Buonaparte to the kingdom of Italy. He also ceded to the king of Bavaria, the Margraviate of Burgau, the Principality of Eichstedt, part of Passau, the county of Tyrol, the Voralberg, and other territories. To the king of Wurtemburgh he ceded the five cities of the Danube, with their dependencies, the county of Hohenburgh, the Landgraviate of Nellenburg; the Prefecture of Altorf, and the part of the Brisgaw, enclaved in

Wurtemburgh. The rest of the Brisgaw, he ceded to the Elector of Borden, together with the Ortenau, the town of Constance, and Minau. By this treaty, the countries of Saltzburg and Berchtolsgaden, were united to the Austrian empire, in exchange for which, the emperour of France engaged that Bavaria should cede to the Elector of Saltzburgh, the Principality of Wurtzburgh. Austria, by this treaty, was entirely excluded from Italy, and cut off from access to the ocean, except by her single port of Trieste. She also relinquished twenty five thousand square miles of territory, containing a population of two and a half millions of souls.

The next war, in which she was engaged, was still more fatal to her. By the treaty of Vienna, in 1809, Austria ceded to the emperour of France, Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgaden, with a part of the Archduchy of Austria, the Ob der Ens, Gorz, Carniole, the city and territory of Trieste, Monfalcone, part of Carinthia and Croatia, Fiume, and the Littorale, Istria, with the neighbouring islands, and the whole territory south of the river Save;—to the king of Saxony, the Bohemian enclaves in Saxony, and West Gallicia; with Zamosc, and a circle about Cracow in East Gallicia;—and to the emperour of Russia, a part of East Gallicia to contain a population of four hundred thousand souls. The provinces, thus dismembered from Austria, contained an area of more than forty thousand square miles, and a population of more than three millions of souls. These successive reductions of the power and resources of Austria, together with the derangement of her finances, occasioned by her efforts to retrieve her losses, threatened to reduce her to a power of the second order.

Prussia, at the commencement of this period, remained nearly in the situation, in which she was left on the death of Frederick the Great. Her sovereign was more fond of pleasure than of business, and, in consequence, the country was not harassed by schemes of conquest. In the beginning of the year 1793, however, the king having formed a consert with the empress of Russia, for making a farther partition of Poland, took possession of Thorn and Dantzic, two cities, which, at the former treaty, had been expressly reserved to Poland. He soon afterwards issued a declaration, stating that the internal dissensions of the republick rendered his interference necessary, and describing certain portions of the Polish territory, of which he intended to take possession. In September of the same year, the King and Diet of Poland were compelled to execute a treaty, ceding to the king of Prussia the cities of Thorn and Dantzic, with the other territories, which he had demanded; and in 1795, by the convention between Russia, Prussia and Austria, by which the final distribution of Poland was confirmed, in conformity with the previous declaration of these powers, the territories thus ceded, with a small addition, were guaranteed to the kingdom of Prussia.

In the year 1795, after an unsuccessful campaign against France, in which the Prussian and allied troops were driven across the Rhine, the king of Prussia, by treaty, relinquished to his enemy all his possessions on the left of that river, until their fate should be settled by a general peace with Germany. In the beginning of the year 1806, by a treaty signed at Vienna, Prussia ceded to France the Duchy of Cleves and the Principalities of Anspach and Bayreuth, in exchange for which, France ceded Hanover, belonging to Great Britain. Although this treaty involved Prussia in a war with Great Britain and Sweden, it was hardly carried into execution before hostilities with France became necessary. The war opened with the disastrous battles of Jena and Auerstadt; and in a few weeks Buonaparte entered the Prussian capital and had in his possession half the kingdom. In a few months more, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of Russia to assist his unfortunate ally, after the bloody battles of Pultusk, Eylau, Heilsburg and Friedland, the emperour of France possessed himself of the whole Prussian territories, except a few garrisons, and advanced to the very borders of Russia. But, by the treaty of Tilsit in July 1807, the old kingdom of Prussia, a part of Polish Prussia, the march of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, and half of Magdeburg, were restored to the king, who, by the same instrument, ceded to France all his states on the left of the Elbe, the circle of Cotbuss, the city of Dantzick, and nearly all his acquisitions in Poland. By this treaty, Prussia lost about half her territory, and more than half her population. In violation of the treaty, also, the greater part of the restored provinces remained in the military possession of France, until the time of the Russian war. The Polish provinces, taken from Prussia on this occasion, were formed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and given to the king of Saxony; and most of the German territories were afterwards formed into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome Buonaparte; both of which new states became members of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Russia, on the breaking out of the French revolution, was deeply engaged in schemes of aggrandizement. The Empress Catherine had already, during her reign, added to her dominions a large part of Poland, the Crimea, and a tract of territory, which belonged to Persia. In 1792, this ambitious princess obtained a further cession from the Porte, of Okzakow and Jedzan, extending from the Bog to the Dniester, which she had already conquered. In the year following, the second partition of Poland took place, on which occasion the empress took possession of Volhynia, Padolia, Kiew, and a part of Lithuania. In 1795, she annexed to her dominions, the Duchy of Courland, Semgalle, and Pilten, and on the final distribution of the remains of Poland, she made the further acquisition of the provinces of Wilna and Grodno. Nearly half the kingdom of Poland thus became annexed to the Russian empire. Besides these conquests of the empress Catherine, she acquired, by inheritance, the little principality of Jever in East Friesland. Her successor, Paul, during his short reign, added to his dominions only a small tract of territory from Persia, thinly inhabited and of little value.

Soon after the accession of the Emperour Alexander, in the year 1801, the Province of Guesia, or Georgia, belonging to Persia, was, by proclamation, incorporated with the empire. In 1806, the city and territory of Derbent, on the Caspian sea, became a part of Russia. In 1807, by the treaty of Tilsit, the Emperour Alexander relinquished the principality of Jever, but acquired in return the province of Bialystock, a part of Poland, which had fallen to the share of Prussia. This addition was made to Russia, under pretence of giving her a more natural boundary. In 1808, war was declared against Sweden. A Russian army immediately entered Swedish Finland, and that country was soon after declared a Russian province. In the year following, at the treaty of Fredericksham, the whole of Finland was ceded to Russia, and it has since become one of the fifty governments of the empire. In 1810, as a reward for having joined France in the war against Austria, which had terminated in a peace dictated by Buonaparte, Russia acquired, by treaty, a further portion of the territories of Poland, consisting of a part of old Gallicia, which had before fallen to the share of Austria. In 1812, on the eve of the war with France, the Emperour Alexander, after having extended his conquests over nearly the whole of Moldavia, and part of Wallachia, suddenly made peace with the Porte, by which the river Pruth was established as the boundary on the side of

Turkey, and the province of Bessarabia, and part of Moldavia, were ceded to Russia. All the territories thus added to the Russian dominions, between the years 1789 and 1812, were more extensive than the whole German empire, but they contained a population of little more than seven millions of souls. The population of this country had besides, in the mean time, been enhanced several millions by natural increase. Russia, during this period, had become much better known. Several excellent works on Russian statisticks have been published, of which the works of Storch and Wichman are, perhaps, the most full and satisfactory. The population of the Russian empire, in 1789, instead of twenty two millions of souls, as it was usually estimated, undoubtedly exceeded thirty millions, and in 1812, it had grown to forty two millions.

Great Britain, during this period, in her European territories, suffered very little change. She was driven from her German possessions, and on the other hand she acquired by conquest the two small islands of Malta and Heligoland. Her conquests abroad were numerous and valuable. The Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, which were taken by Great Britain before the treaty of Amiens in 1802, were confirmed to her by that treaty. Her other conquests of Pondicherry and the other French settlements on the coast of Coromandel, in India, of the Islands of Tobago, Martinique, St. Lucia, Curacoa, St. Bartholomews, St. Croix, St. Martin, St. Thomas, St. John, St. Eustatia, and Saba, in the West Indies, Surinam and the Cape of Good Hope, were all restored to their original possessors at the peace of Amiens. On the renewal of the war, in 1803, Great Britain again took possession of St. Lucia, St. Pierre and Miquelon, Tobago, Demarara, and Essequibo; and in the year following, of Surinam. In 1806, she again conquered the Cape of Good Hope, and during the next year, the Dutch island of Curracoa, and the Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. Johns, and St. Croix. She also took possession of Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and the island of Madeira, but these places were soon after restored to their former proprietors. In 1809, she conquered the island of Martinique; in 1810, Amboyna, the island of Bourbon, and the Isle of France, and in 1811, the Island of Java. These conquests put under the dominion of Great Britain nearly all the foreign possessions of her enemies.

Sweden lost by conquest, in 1807, the German province of

Pomerania, and the island of Rugen, and, the year following, Finland. These losses deprived her of more than a third part of her territory and nearly a third part of her population.

Denmark lost the little island of Heligoland and her possessions in the West Indies and South America.

Poland, in 1791, formed a new constitution with a view of asserting her entire independence. This new government was called a republick, and possessed many of the features of the American constitutions. It retained, however, a hereditary head, with the title of king. The new constitution did not put an end to internal dissensions; and these, with the solicitations of the disaffected, furnished a pretence for the interference of the Russian empress and the king of Prussia. These two powers, in the beginning of 1793, took possession of certain Polish provinces, contiguous to their own dominions, and a few months afterwards the diet were compelled by military force to ratify treaties, ceding to these two powers the provinces, which they had severally seized. These cessions left to the republick but a third part of the original territories of Poland. The year following the people made a vigorous effort to recover their independence, and the integrity of the republick, but it proved unsuccessful. Kosciusko, their brave leader, after a variety of good and evil fortune, was defeated and taken prisoner, and the capital was taken by assault. In January 1795, the Russian ambassador, at Warsaw, declared to the foreign ambassadors there, that there no longer existed any kingdom or republick of Poland, and in November the king formally abdicated the throne. The courts of Russia, Prussia, and Austria agreed upon a division of the remaining part of Poland between them, and the part assigned to each was guaranteed to it by the others. The kingdom thus became entirely extinct.

The seven United Provinces of the Netherlands were, in the year 1795, entirely conquered by France. The principal part of the country, however, was restored on condition of the expulsion of the Orange family, and the abolition of the stadtholdership, and a new and more popular government was established in strict alliance with the French republick. Dutch Flanders was annexed to France. The ancient name of United Provinces was exchanged for that of the Batavian Republick, and under this name the country enjoyed the benefit of several successive new constitutions, each the fruit of some new revolution. In 1806, the Batavian Republick was converted into the kingdom of Holland, and Louis Napoleon was elevated to the throne. By the constitution proclaimed on the occasion, the king was invested with the exercise of the government, and justice was to be administered in his name. A legislative body was established of thirty eight members. In 1808, East Friesland and Jever were given to Holland in exchange for a part of Walcheren, which was annexed to France. In 1810, Dutch Brabant, Zealand, and the territory on the left of the Waal, were ceded to France. The same year Louis resigned the crown in favour of his eldest son, and soon after, by a decree of the emperour, and a senatus consultum, the whole kingdom of Holland was annexed to France, as an integral part of the empire. Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire. This ancient republick thus became entirely extinct.

The thirteen cantons, with their associates and allies, called the Republick of Switzerland, had subsisted almost without any territorial or political change for nearly three centuries. The prevalence of revolutionary principles invited the French to invade the country in 1798, and nineteen states,—which had all been accustomed to the privilege of self government, and differed radically from one another in their modes of government, as well as in their habits and institutions, some of them being aristocratical, others democratick, and others monarchical, and which were only bound together by treaties, without acknowledging any common head,—were constrained to unite as a single republick, under a representative constitution, one and indivisible. The Helvetic Republick remained for five years the sport of factions, and exhausted by civil wars, during which, a great number of schemes of government were successively adopted and rejected. In 1803, fifty six deputies were despatched to Paris, who under the mediation of Buonaparte, with the assistance of four French senators, nominated by him, formed a new federative act, by which a new constitution was given to each of the nineteen cantons, modelled in part upon the ancient forms of government of each, and a general constitution was established, by which the whole were united in one confederation, with a general diet at the head of it. This constitution was immediately adopted. Its regulations were enforced, and quiet was preserved, by the sword of the mediator, so long as his power lasted. Geneva, the Valais, and Neufchatel, however, in the mean time were severed from the confederacy.

Spain, in the the year 1795, was obliged to purchase the restoration of a part of her territory, (conquered by the republicans of France,) by the cession of her possessions in St. Domingo. In 1800, she ceded the province of Louisiana to France, which power, in April 1803, transferred it to the United States. In 1801, she invaded Portugal, and at a peace, made soon after, obtained a cession of the fortress of Olivenza, with its territory, by which her boundary was extended in that quarter to the river Guadiana. In May 1808, King Charles IV, after having abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ferdinand, and again resumed it, transferred the crown of Spain to the Emperour Napoleon, and to confirm the title of the latter, all the Spanish princes made a formal release of their claims. In June, Napoleon placed the crown on the head of his brother Joseph. These transactions were not confirmed by the Spanish nation, and a war ensued between the people of Spain, (under governments voluntarily formed by them,) and France, which continued until the fall of Buonaparte. Most of the American provinces of Spain, in the mean time, formed temporary governments for themselves.

Portugal,—though several times overrun by the French armies,—with the exception of the cession of Olivenza, by the help of Great Britain preserved the integrity of her European territories; but in November 1807, the royal family withdrew from Lisbon, the ancient capital, and established the royal court at Rio Janeiro in America. By this important event, Brazil, since raised to the dignity of a kingdom, has become the seat of the government, and the mother country is degraded to the rank of a province. A part of Portuguese Guiana, ceded to France, was recovered at the peace of Amiens.

Turkey suffered a considerable diminution of her territory by the cessions to Russia in 1792 and 1812. Her sway over parts of her territory has also been disputed by the Servians, the Wechabites, and several Pachas. Her influence in European politicks has consequently been much reduced.

The theatres of the greatest changes,—the German empire, and the states of Italy,—remain yet to be noticed. To these however we can devote but a moment's attention The states, which composed the empire, were to most purposes sovereign states, and stood nearly in the same relations to one another with the other states of Europe. They had been becoming more and more independent of one another, ever since the peace of Westphalia; yet they remained under a common supreme head, and the unity of the empire was preserved in the Aulic council at Vienna, in the perpetual diet of plenipotentiaries from the different states at Ratisbon, and in the Imperial Chamber, constituting of a sort of law court for the empire, at Wetzlar. Although the decisions of these tribunals were slow, and extended to but a few of the objects of government, yet their authority was acknowledged by every member of the empire. We cannot go into a minute history of the destruction of this ancient fabrick. In the year 1806, a confederacy was formed, under the auspices of the French emperour, called the confederation of the Rhine, consisting of the southern German princes, and those on the Rhine, who then withdrew themselves from the empire. The Emperour Francis, upon this event, laid down the elective imperial crown of the holy Roman empire, and absolved all the members of the empire from the allegiance which they owed him in that capacity. The emperour had two years before taken the title of Hereditary Emperour of Austria, which has been recognized by all the powers of Europe. With the exception of the Hereditary states of the Emperour of Austria, and those of the king of Prussia, all the states of Germany, together with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, soon after this date became members of the Rhenish confederation. Buonaparte was acknowledged as the head of the confederation, by the title of Protector, and by the articles of the league, each state was bound to furnish a certain contingent of troops, for every war in which France should be engaged. Four of the states of this confederation were raised by Buonaparte, to the dignity of kingdoms, and several others received the title of Grand Duchy.

In Italy every thing was changed. The Duchies of Savoy and Piedmont, which formed the principal part of the territories of the king of Sardinia, became extinct by the annexation of these territories to France. The republick of Genoa, in the year 1797, was formed into a new government, under the protection of France, with the name of the *Ligurian Republick.* In 1805, the whole country was annexed to France. The king of Sardinia continued to reign over the island, from which he derives his title; the population of which amounted to about a sixth part of the inhabitants of all his hereditary dominions. The Duchy of Parma, also, became extinct, by being merged in the French empire. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was seized by Buonaparte, in the year 1801, erected into a kingdom, and given to the prince of Parma, son of the duke of

Parma, in exchange for the Duchy of Parma, which was ceded to France. The new kingdom received, on this occasion, the classical name of Etruria. After having enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years, the kingdom of Etruria, in the year 1807, became extinct, by being annexed to the French empire. The republick of Lucca was, in the year 1805, erected into a principality, and given by Buonaparte to his brother-in-law and sister, and together with the principality of Piombino, before given to them, remained under their government as a dependency of France. The Ecclesiastical states, besides Avignon and Venaisin, were, in the year 1797, dismembered of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, embracing more than a third part of all the subjects of the Pope. In 1798, the Holy City became the seat of a new government, called the *Roman Republick.* But the pope soon after resumed his government, and continued to exercise it over the remaining portion of his states for about ten years. In 1808, a French army took possession of Rome, and put an end to the temporal power of the Pope. The eastern part of his dominions was incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, and in 1810, the western part, including the capital, was annexed to the French empire, the limits of which were thus extended to the Appennine mountains and the borders of Naples.

In the year 1797, Buonaparte,—after driving the Austrians from their possessions in Italy, called Austrian Lombardy, and consisting of the Duchies of Milan and Mantua,—by proclamation, in the name of the French republick, declared them free and independent, under the name of the *Cisalpine Republick.* About the same time, the ancient republick of Venice was conquered by Buonaparte, and entirely struck out of the list of nations. The greater part of her territory was given to Austria, in exchange for Lombardy and the Netherlands, and the remainder was annexed to the Cisalpine Republick. This new and favourite state was also increased by the annexation to it of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, and the Duchy of Modena. In 1802, this country received a new constitution, and with it the name of the *Italian Republick.* But in the year 1805, by a constitutional statute, the Italian republick was declared a kingdom, and Napoleon I, Emperour of France, was declared King of Italy. In the same year, by a decree of the emperour and king, prince Eugene was appointed Viceroy ; and in the year following, by another decree, he was adopted as the son of the emperour, and his successour to the crown of Italy, in default of natural children. The whole of the Venetian states were soon after annexed to the kingdom of Italy, as were also, in 1807, the territories of the republick of Ragusa. In 1808, the kingdom was farther increased, by the annexation of Ancona, Urbino, Camerino, and Macerata, a part of the States of the Church. Thus the whole of Italy, with the exception of the kingdom of Naples, became about equally divided between the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy.

The king of Naples and Sicily was driven from the continental part of his dominions in the year 1799, and the people, with the aid of a French army, established the *Parthenopean Republick.* The popular faction was, however, soon after suppressed; the French were defeated, and the king returned and resumed the government. But in 1806, the king was again compelled to withdraw his court to the island of Sicily, where he continued his reign under the protection of the British fleet. The crown of Naples was given by Buonaparte to his brother Joseph, who held it until he was transferred to the throne of Spain, when he was succeeded by his brother-in-law Murat, who, on this occasion, resigned the Grand Duchy of Berg. The island of Sicily, which remained in the possession of the old king, embraced about a quarter part of the population of his kingdom.

Thus, in the year 1812,—although Naples and Sicily were divided into two kingdoms, and the king of Sardinia maintained the royal dignity in a fraction of his dominions,—the number of states in Europe, estimating the Rhenish confederation as one, was reduced to sixteen. Of the twenty six sovereign states, into which Europe was divided at the commencement of the French revolution, six were now wholly, and two others principally absorbed in the empire of France, and three more were embraced in the kingdom of Italy. Besides swaying the sceptre over these two countries, Buonaparte had placed on the heads of a brother and a brother-in-law the crowns of two other kingdoms, and as protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of the Helvetic Union, he commanded the resources of Germany and of Switzerland. The countries, thus under his control, contained about half the population of Europe. The republicks of Europe, including those, which owed their origin to the French revolution, had become entirely extinct, and their territories had fallen under the most arbitrary governments. Switzerland was the only country, in which the form of a republican government was retained.

This change in the condition of the European world had been principally effected by the power of one man. On his fall, a counter revolution took place, founded on the general principle of restoring the old order of things. The territories, which had been seized by Buonaparte, were, in general, taken possession of by their former proprietors. But there were some cases, in which it was not possible to restore the old governments, and others, where it was not thought expedient to restore to existing governments, all their old possessions. The boundaries to be allowed to France, and certain general principles for the re-establishment of the European Commonwealth, were fixed at the peace of Paris in 1814, but the definitive settlement of conflicting claims was made at the congress of all the powers of Europe, except Turkey and Naples, convened either in person, or by their representatives, at Vienna. The arrangements made at this Areopagus of sovereigns were announced from time to time in the commencement of the year 1815, and immediately carried into effect. The deliberations of this congress were interrupted by the return of Buonaparte from Elba, which event hastened their decisions and rendered some change in their dispositions ultimately necessary.

By the peace of Paris, France was confirmed in the possession of the territories held by her in 1792, including Avignon, with the addition of part of Savoy, Montpelier, and some small districts of the Netherlands on the northern border. All the colonies of France were restored by Great Britain, except the Isle of France and its dependencies, and Tobago and St. Lucia. France restored to Spain the part of St. Domingo, ceded to her by the treaty of Basle. By the new treaty with France, made on the second restoration of the Bourbons, France retained its territory as it was in 1789, with Avignon, Montpelier, and the German enclaves; but ceded Savoy, the territory on the Belgian border, the four garrisons of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Marienburg and Philippeville, and the government of Monaco. The kingdom is now divided into eighty six departments. Her principal colonies are Martinique, Guadaloupe, French Guiana, the Isle of Bourbon, and Pondicherry, all of which were restored to her by Great Britain at the peace of Paris.

Russia, in 1813, made peace with Persia, and obtained a cession of Immerrette and Daghistan. In April 1815, by treaties with Prussia and Austria, confirmed by the general act of the congress of Vienna, the emperour acquired the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw,—with the title of Czar, king of Poland,—excepting, however, the part of the Grand Duchy lying westerly of the river Prosna, and a line drawn from the mouth of this river to near the city of Thorn, which was restored to the king of Prussia, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Posen. At the same time, Russia ceded back to Austria the part of Gallicia acquired by virtue of the treaty of Vienna in 1809. The new kingdom of Poland was given to Russia, on the condition that it should enjoy a distinct administration, and the emperour Alexander has since given to it a very liberal constitution. The population of Russia, with these additions, amounts to about forty five millions of souls.

Prussia, besides the Grand Duchy of Posen, received back, of the countries ceded by the treaty of Tilsit, the city and territory of Dantzic, and nearly all her former possessions in Germany. To indemnify her for the principal part of her Polish possessions, now ceded to Russia, the king of Saxony was required to cede to her about half his kingdom, and she received besides a variety of other tracts of territory, principally situated on the Rhine, including the town and territory of Wetzlar, the Duchies of Berg and Cleves, most of the Bishopricks of Cologne and Munster, and the Duchy of Westphalia. The Prussian acquisitions on the Rhine were formed into the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine, and in consequence the king adds to his titles, that of Grand Duke. Since the dissolution of the Vienna congress, Prussia has made several exchanges, by which her territories are rendered more compact. They are now all contiguous, excepting that the Grand Duchy of the Rhine is separated from the rest of the kingdom by Hanover, through which the king of Prussia is entitled, by treaty, to maintain two military roads. Notwithstanding this division of the kingdom, the different provinces are much more compactly situated than formerly. The territory of the kingdom is not quite so extensive as it was in 1806, but its population is about the same. In exchange for two and a half millions of Polish subjects, transferred to the Emperour Alexander, the king has acquired about the same number in Germany, besides receiving back those, who were formerly under his dominion.

The Emperour of Austria was recognized by the allied sovereigns,—in consequence of the renunciations in the treaty of Paris by France,—as legitimate sovereign of all the provinces and territories, which had formerly belonged to her, but which she had ceded by the treaties of Campo Formio, Luneville, Presburgh, and Vienna. Austria, therefore, entered again into possession of Austrian and Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian Isles of the Adriatic, the city of Venice, and the Venetian territories on the left of the Adidge, the Duchies of Milan and Mantua, called Austrian Lombardy, the principalities of Brixen and Trent, the Tyrol, the Voralburg, Frioul, Montefalcone, Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, Croatia, on the right of the Save, Fiume and the Hungarian Littorale, and the district of Castua. The four circles of old Gallicia, ceded to Russia by the treaty of Vienna, were also restored. There were besides ceded to Austria, the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which formerly belonged to the Canton of the Grisons, but were annexed by Buonaparte to the Cisalpine Republick. The territories, which formed the Republick of Ragusa, and some other small tracts of territory, were annexed to the Austrian dominions. The Italian provinces are placed under a distinct government, at the head of which is placed one of the archdukes, with the title of Viceroy. By an ordinance, published at Lemberg in May last, it was declared that Austrian Poland, under the name of the Kingdom of Gallicia and Lodomiria, should have a constitution of provincial states—the states to be formed of the clergy, two classes of nobles, and citizens. The population of Austria, at present, is about twenty eight millions.

Great Britain is reinstated in possession of the electorate of Hanover, which has been raised to the rank of a kingdom; and the King of Great Britain bears, in addition to his other titles, that of King of Hanover. Several transfers of territory have been made, much to the advantage of the new kingdom. The King of Great Britain, as King of Hanover, is a member of the Germanic confederation. Great Britain has also acquired the sovereignty of the Republick of the Ionian Islands, the internal government of which, however, belongs to the people of those islands. Heligoland and Malta also remain to Great Britain, as do the late French colonies of the Isle of France and its dependencies, and St. Lucia, Tobago and the late Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo. The other conquests of Great Britain, during the war, have been restored to their ancient proprietors. They have lately reduced to subjection the King of Kandy, and obtained the sovereignty of the whole Island of Ceylon. We have not spoken of the progress of the British dominion in India, because, in the short space we should be able to devote to it, we should not give any intelligible account of it. They have, however, either entirely conquered or made tributary to them, a great number of the native princes of that country, so that their dominion in India, either limited or absolute, embraces a population of forty millions of souls.

Sweden, by the treaty of Kiel, obtained from Denmark a cession of Norway, in exchange for Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen in Germany. This transfer the people of Norway attempted to resist, and, acknowledging Prince Christian, son of the King of Denmark, as their sovereign, declared themselves independent. They were, however, reduced by force, and a new constitution was accepted by the diet of Norway, by which the rights of the people are secured, and the kingdom is united with that of Sweden, under the same king, but to enjoy a separate administration, and to have its own legislature. By this constitution, the King has the right of raising armies, making war and peace, making treaties, and sending and receiving ambassadors. The acquisition of Norway is more than an equivalent to the king of Sweden for the loss of Finland. The laws prescribe the mode in which, when there shall be no presumptive heir to the crown, one may be named, who shall be entitled to the succession in the same manner as a natural heir.

Denmark transferred her new acquisitions of Pomerania and Rugen, which were remote from her other dominions, to Prussia, in exchange for that part of the Duchy of Lauenburgh, situated on the right bank of the Elbe, which Hanover had lately ceded to Prussia. This small Duchy affords but an imperfect compensation for the kingdom of Norway, yet, as it adjoins the Duchy of Holstein, it is a convenient and valuable appendage to the kingdom. These two Duchies make the King of Denmark a member of the Germanic confederation, and entitle him to a voice in the diet of Frankfort.

One of the most important features of the new constitution of Europe, is the erection of the new kingdom of the Nether lands, consisting of the territories, which formed the Republick of the United Provinces, and the Belgic Provinces, commonly known by the name of the Austrian Netherlands, together with the Bishoprick of Liege. The crown of this kingdom is hereditary in the family of the late Stadtholder, and Prince of Orange. The constitution of government is modelled in some measure after that of Great Britain. The Duchy of Luxemburgh is annexed to this kingdom, by virtue of which, the king, as Duke of Luxemburgh, is a member of the Germanic Confederation. This kingdom is a very rich and populous country, though small in extent. The number of inhabitants exceeds five millions.

Switzerland has been newly organized. Three new states, or cantons—the Valais, Geneva, and Neufchatel—have been added to the confederacy, which now consists of twenty two members, and the whole have entered into a treaty with the allied powers, by which the latter acknowledge their independence, and guaranty their neutrality. Spain, Portugal, and Turkey have suffered no material territorial changes since the year 1812. Ferdinand VII. holds the crown of Spain by virtue of the abdication of his father, in 1808. He resumed the throne after the fall of Buonaparte, in 1814. The Prince of Portugal, who had been many years Regent, in consequence of the incapacity of the queen, obtained the acknowledgment of the Brazils as a kingdom in 1815, and in the year following, on the death of his mother, succeeded to the throne. The allied powers, by the act of the congress of Vienna, declared it reasonable, that Spain should restore to Portugal the city and territory of Olivenza, but Spain for a long time refused to comply with their recommendation on this subject. Portugal restored to France French Guiana, to the river Oyapock; but, on the other side of her Brazilian dominions, a Portuguese army has taken possession of Montevideo, and that part of the Spanish Province of La Plata, north of the river La Plata. A review of the changes that have taken place in the Spanish Colonies, which have asserted their independence, we must reserve for some future occasion. We can here merely observe, that the Vice-royalty of La Plata, and the Captain Generalship of Chili, are the only provinces in which the king has not preserved some shadow of authority.

The German Empire has not been restored, but the Germanic Confederation has been established in its place. This confederation consists of the sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, together with the empire of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Great Britain, Denmark, and Netherlands, for their possessions in Germany. Its object is the maintenance of the security of Germany, and the independence and inviolability of the confederated states. The members are all equal in rights, and all are represented—the eleven larger states, individually, and the small states and free cities in six classes,—at the federative diet, in which the whole number of voices is seventeen. Austria, whose German states include a third part of the ancient empire, presides at the diet, but, in other respects, has but an equal voice. The diet is permanent, to sit at Frankfort on the Maine, and cannot adjourn for more than four months. It is entrusted with establishing the civil and political relations of the confederated states, and with the defence, not only of Germany in general, but of each individual state. The diet has been recently employed in fixing the military establishment of the confederation. The whole number of the inhabitants of Germany is about twenty nine millions, but nearly two thirds of these are under the dominion of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands, a principal part of whose territories are out of the limits of the ancient empire. The number of other princes and cities, recognized as sovereign, is thirty three, and the population amounts to about ten millions. The states of three of these, Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemburgh, are styled kingdoms—the others are known by titles of a lower rank. The offices of emperour and elector are become extinct, and the division of the empire into circles is entirely obsolete. Many of the individual states have suffered considerable changes. The King of Saxony has been punished for his adherence to Buonaparte, by being deprived not only of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but of half his hereditary states. Saxony is now the smallest kingdom in Europe.

The present political condition of Italy is easily understood. Lombardy and Venice, with nearly the same boundaries as when they were possessed by Austria and the Venetian Republick in 1789, now belong to the Austrian empire, and are under a distinct administration. The Duchy of Tuscany,—which from the year 1801, until it was incorporated with France, bore the name of Kingdom of Etruria,—returned in consequence of the peace of Paris, to Ferdinand III. who succeeded his father Leopold II. in 1790. His title has since been augmented to that of Grand Duke. The Duchy of Modena returned, at the peace of Paris, to the family of the late Duke of Modena, who was expelled from Italy on the establishment of the Cisalpine Republick.

The Duchy of Parma and Placentia, instead of returning to the Spanish line, was given at the peace of Paris to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, wife of Napoleon Buonaparte, and her son, But in exchange for Parma and Placentia, the Duchess of Parma, also named Maria Louisa, widow of the late prince royal of Parma, afterwards King of Etruria, was invested by the allied sovereigns, with the Duchy of Lucca. This Duchy consists of the territories of the ancient republick, which Buonaparte gave as a principality to one of his sisters. Piedmont and Savoy are restored to the king of Sardinia, and the ancient republick of Genoa is made a part of the same kingdom. The States of the Church have been restored, with the exception of some inconsiderable tracts of territory in France and on the left bank of the Po. The kingdom of Naples, by treaty with Austria made a short time before the fall of Buonaparte, was guaranteed to Murat, but this treaty was broken by his hostile movements in the beginning of the following year, and the kingdom was soon after restored to Ferdinand IV. the old king of the Two Sicilies. The little republick of St. Marino, preserves its existence, and is the eighth and last of the states of Italy.

The only European state, which remains to be mentioned, is the free city of Cracow. This Polish city, at the partition of 1795, fell under the dominion of Austria, with the province of West Gallicia. At the peace of Vienna, in 1809, it was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. But by the act of the congress of Vienna, it was declared permanently a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Russia, Austria and Prussia. In May 1815, a treaty was entered into by these three powers, in which the privileges to be enjoyed by this city, and the conditions, on which it receives its independence and neutrality, are particularly described. The inhabitants of this new state are estimated at sixty one thousand.

The present number of independent states in Europe, including the little republicks of St. Marino, Cracow, and the Ionian Islands, and considering the Germanic Confederation as a single state, is twenty three. But two thirds of the inhabitants of Europe are subjects of the five largest states; and the other third are very unequally divided between the seven secondary states, the thirty three minor states of the Germanic Confederation, the eight states of Italy, and the two republicks of Cracow and the Ionian Islands.

Whether this distribution of power is likely to be permanent, and calculated to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, or whether the world has gained any thing in the hope of future security and repose, are interesting inquiries, which we are not able at present to pursue. We have only leisure to observe, that all the powers of the first order, except France, have increased in the extent of their dominions, population and resources; but on the other hand, the small states are not so closely allied, and so intimately dependent on particular large states, as they were before the French revolution. Several of the states have acquired more natural and convenient boundaries, and their territories are in a less degree intermixed. The states of the first order, with the exception of Russia, are more nearly equal in power and resources than formerly, and Russia, the only apparently dangerous power, is remote from the small states whom she would be most likely to bind to her yoke, and separated from the rest of Europe by the two states, who have the strongest interest, and are the most able to keep a check upon her ambition. On the whole, there does not appear to be any thing in the present distribution of power, which ought to discourage the hope of a long period of security from the miseries of conquest and revolution. There is no one sovereign, who can, with any rational confidence, aspire to universal dominion, or even any material increase of his power. On the contrary, if the several states act from a principle of enlightened self interest, or even of prudent ambition, it is not in the power of any one of the number, to assume more than his part in the political system, or to disturb the general welfare. No political arrangements can afford a security against the disasters to result from the future improvident or unprincipled administration of important states. It is sufficient for us, that there is nothing in the present political constitution of that portion of the world, on which the welfare of mankind most depends, which need excite in us any serious apprehensions of the renewal of those calamities, which have been lately brought to a close.

We might here proceed to give a review of the geographical changes in the United States, and of the improvements, which have been made in the knowledge of our own country. This would be a very interesting subject of inquiry, from the satisfactory progress we have made, and the flattering view, the inquiry would give of our resources and prospects. But the cursory review, we could at present give of the subject, would confine us to a recapitulation of what is within every one's knowledge. We proceed, therefore, to a more particular consideration of the work before us.

To form a proper estimate of the character of the work, we must first consider, what is its object, and how much it ought to accomplish. It is intended as a book of general reference, for information respecting places of every description in all parts of the globe. As it is designed for general use, it ought not to be expected, that the accounts of the different places should be very full, but facts should be judiciously selected, according to their importance to an American reader, and stated with precision. These should be drawn from the most authentick sources, and in all cases the most recent authorities should be consulted. Recent events should be stated more particularly than those of a remote period, because they are more likely to be objects of importance or curiosity to the reader. In all cases, the present state of the places described should be given as distinctly as possible. Countries, which have no present political existence, and occupy a place only in history, should be described in more brief and general terms than the states into which the world is now divided.

We have already declared our opinion of the industry and fidelity, with which this work, in general, is executed, and of the difficulties with which the author had to struggle. So far as he was furnished with materials in other geographical works, the labour of abridging, comparing and selecting appears to have been faithfully and judiciously performed. But in the state in which he found these works, we think it was incumbent on him to search farther, and to supply their imperfections from other materials. He should have carefully studied the history of Europe for the last thirty years, all the treaties, which have any concern with territorial changes, should have been consulted, and the statistical publications of the different countries examined. Crutwell's Gazetteer, which appears to have been made the ground work of the present publication, was tolerably accurate for the period when it was published, but nothing in the political world at that time was considered as on a permanent footing, and—probably in part for this reason, and in part for want of satisfactory information,—the late changes were stated by him in very brief and indefinite terms. In the present work, the changes since that date are in most cases either not noticed at all, or are described still more indefinitely and imperfectly. We are aware of the great labour and difficulty of executing, in a satisfactory manner, this portion of the work, but the author, had he taken time for it, is fully competent to the task, and the publick will expect of him that in another edition of his book, he faithfully perform it.

We cannot go into particulars to explain the deficiency, which we complain of. It may be sufficiently understood when we say, that it would furnish little aid in drawing the outline of the changes in Europe, which we have presented in the preceding pages. When the changes are mentioned, it is often in too general and indistinct terms to render the information of much use. Whenever a district is detached from one country and annexed to another, we wish to be informed of the mode of the transfer, the date, and the amount of territory and population transferred. We have, in this work, but a very imperfect view of the reorganization of the European Commonwealth, on the fall of Buonaparte. Many changes are represented as the acts of the Vienna Congress, which were, in fact, but the resumption of territories by their former sovereigns on the termination of the power of the general usurper. The recent changes are not, in most instances, so particularly stated, as changes of less importance, made some centuries ago. The reader might reasonably expect, that a work of this size, published more than two years after the adjournment of the Congress of Vienna, should furnish, in preference to every thing else, the details of historical events belonging to the subject, which have taken place since the date of all other publications of the kind. It is to learn the present state of the world, in the particulars in which it differs from its condition as described in former publications, that this work will be most frequently consulted; yet it is in these particulars, in which it is most deficient.

By way of illustrating these objections, we copy from the work the article on *Saxony*, which we wish, however, should be considered as by no means a fair specimen of the general character of the work.

'*Saxony*, kingdom, composed of the dutchy of Saxony, the greater part of the margravate of Meissen, a part of the Vogtland, and the north part of Thuringia, Lusatia, and a part of the country of Henneberg. The country abounds in grain, pulse, legumes, and fruit; hops, flax, hemp, tobacco, anniseed, woad, &c.; wine is made in Meissen. The forests are considerable, which yield timber and pitch. Coals are found in several places, and the mines are of great importance; in which are found silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, cinnabar, quicksilver, antimony, bismuth, arsenic, different kinds of precious stones, as diamonds, topazes, rubies, amethysts, jaspers, &c. with quarries of various sorts of marble. The principal rivers are the Elbe, Elster, Mulda, and Saal. It is in general well cultivated, and populous; it contains upwards of 200 towns, and near 5000 villages. Saxony was the nursery of the reformation, introduced by Luther, which is now the prevailing religion. Ambition to be king of Poland induced the elector to become a Roman Catholic, but he engaged himself and successors not to introduce any alterations in the church, worship, ceremonies, universities, or schools. The arts and sciences are flourishing in Saxony, and the manufactures are numerous of thread, linen, porcelain, glass, cutlery, carpets, velvet, and muslins.—In the beginning of 1807, Saxony was erected into a kingdom, and Frederic Augustus IV. duke and elector, was crowned the first king. Saxony, without including Lusatia, is divided into seven circles and two bishoprics; the circles are those of Saxony, or the Electoral, Thuringia, Meissen, Leipsic, Erzgebirg, Vogtland, and Neustadt; the bishoprics are Merseburg and Naumburg. In 1792, by Hoeck's calculation, there were 2,104,320 inhabitants.

'By the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, nearly one half the kingdom of Saxony was given to Prussia. The population, according to the present limits, is estimated at 1,183,000. Dresden is the capital.'

Although it is stated in the two last sentences of this article, that about half the kingdom has been ceded to Prussia, the general description refers, entirely, to the state of it before that cession was made, or rather, its condition fifty years ago, and there is nothing to show what parts of the country now remain to the King of Saxony. In fact, a very small part of the description, as applicable to the present kingdom, is correct. The whole of the Duchy of Saxony, Thuringia, the county of Henneberg, Lower Lusatia, and half of Upper Lusatia were, in May 1815, transferred to Prussia, and the King of Prussia was permitted, in consequence, to add to his titles, those of Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of the two Lusatias, and Count of Henneberg. The river Saal flows through no part of the present Saxon kingdom, and of the seven circles mentioned above, the circle Electoral, Thuringia, and Neustadt, as well as the two Bishoprics of Merseburg and Naumburg, are entirely without the present boundaries. Saxony was raised to the dignity of a kingdom by the treaty of Posen, December 11, 1806, and was, by the same treaty, admitted to the confederation of the Rhine.

There are instances in this book, in which Duchies, Principalities, Bishoprics, and Lordships, are described as if now existing, which, in fact, have become extinct, and have no place but in history. There are frequent instances in which small tracts of territory, that have been transferred from one country to another, are set down to the country of which it has ceased to make a part. For example, Derbent is represented as belonging to Persia, and Bessarabia to Turkey, whereas, both are annexed to the Russian empire. The fortresses of Landau, Sarre Louis, Philippeville, and Marienberg, ceded by the last treaty of Paris, are, nevertheless, set down to France. The Island of Rugen, and the late Swedish Pomerania, which were ceded to Denmark in exchange for Norway, and afterwards by Denmark ceded to Prussia in exchange for the Duchy of Luneberg, are given as a part of the Danish territories. Of the successive transfers of Luneberg from Hanover to Prussia, and from Prussia to Denmark, there is no notice. These we give as examples of defects, which, although individually not very important, and although few, in proportion to the number of articles in the book, are yet so numerous as materially to diminish its value.

The revolutionary name *Etruria* is retained throughout the work, as designating the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The name has properly no place in modern geography or history, except as it is applied to that period of the history of Tuscany, when it was governed as a kingdom, by the house of Parma, between the years 1801 and 1808. Yet Leghorn is called, by Mr. Worcester, a city of Etruria.

We do not wish to dwell upon these small defects, in this work, because we have not time on the other hand, to point out its merits, which certainly preponderate. It contains a great mass of information, digested in a very compact form, and stated, generally, with precision and accuracy. It contains a vast number of articles, beyond what the common reader would suppose that the world could afford. Yet it ought not to be supposed, that these two volumes describe all the places in the world. To attempt this, would be an unavailing labour. The index to the Topographical and Military Map of Germany alone, in which each name occupies but half a line, fills two large and closely printed octavo volumes. It cannot, therefore, be expected that not merely an index, but a description of all the places in the world, should be embraced within a compass suited to the views of common readers. Still, these two volumes contain a greater number of names, than any work of the kind we know of, and these are generally selected with discretion.

Many of the articles, relating to this country, are evidently written from original materials, carefully collected by the author. It is in these articles, that the marks of his care and labour are most conspicuous. The descriptions of places here, are generally corrected, according to the changes that have taken place, to a very recent date. This remark, however, we cannot apply to the southern part of our continent. The work furnishes no account of the revolutions that have taken place in South America, nor have we observed a line to show that the Spanish provinces have not all remained quietly under the royal yoke. It, perhaps, does not come within the plan of the work to give an account of the civil wars that have distressed those countries; but the total, and apparently permanent changes of government in some of the provinces, and, indeed, all entire revolutions, might fairly have found a place in it. As a specimen of the articles, which appear to be entirely original, we extract the following.

'*Cambridge*, p—t. Middlesex co. Mass. 3 WNW. Boston. Lon. 71. 7. W. Lat. 42. 23. N. Pop. 2323. It is pleasantly situated on the river Charles, and contains, a court house, a jail, a state arsenal, a printing office, three houses of public worship—two for Congregationalists, and one for Episcopalians; and a celebrated University. The courts for the county are held alternately here and at Concord. The court house and jail are situated on Lechmere's Point, a mile from Boston, with which there is a connexion by a bridge across Charles river. One of the Congregational meeting houses is at the flourishing village, called Cambridge-Port, which is connected with Boston by another bridge across the same river.

'Harvard College, or as it is now usually styled, the University in Cambridge, was founded in 1638. It is very richly endowed, and with regard to funds, library, professorships, and various literary advantages, is the first institution of the kind in America. It has five large brick edifices, or halls, styled Harvard, Hollis, Stoughton, Massachusetts, and Holworthy Halls. Harvard hall contains the library, philosophical apparatus, museum, and cabinet of minerals. The others are appropriated to the accommodation of students. There is also a spacious and most elegant stone edifice, containing a chapel, dining halls, and lecture rooms. A large and expensive astronomical observatory is about to be erected on an eminence, to the east of these buildings. A botanical garden, which belongs to the institution, contains a very valuable and extensive collection of plants. The library contains about 20,000 volumes. The philosophical apparatus exceeds every other of the kind in America. There are belonging to the university, in its several departments, a president, 20 professors, and 4 tutors. The number of undergraduates is, at present, 280. The course of education requisite in order to obtain the first degree in arts, in this university, as in American colleges generally, is completed in four years.

The Theological Department has been lately organized on an extensive scale. Graduates of other colleges may be admitted to share in all the benefits of this institution. The regular course of instruction is completed in three years; and provision is made for the partial support of such students as may need assistance. The members attend public or private lectures of professors, on divinity, ecclesiastical history and church polity, pastoral duties, biblical criticism, natural theology, the septuagint, oriental languages, moral philosophy, intellectual philosophy, and pulpit eloquence.—The Law Department has likewise been lately organized and the new arrangements are expected soon to go into extensive operation.

'The lectures of the medical department are principally delivered in Boston, where there has been lately erected, for the accommodation of this institution, a spacious and elegant edifice of stone, which contains a separate library of 4000 volumes. In this department there are 6 professors, who deliver lectures on materia medica, anatomy, surgery, obstetrics, theory and practice of medicine, chemistry and botany.'

ART. IV.—*Readings on Poetry. By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and Maria Edgeworth.* Boston; Wells & Lilly, 1816.

THE character of different periods of society varies almost as much as the seasons, and, perhaps, to the same uses. It has its times of darkness and storms, when the violent passions are abroad, and the milder affections are beaten down, and lie broken and perishing. But the seeds of good feelings do not decay, nor do the fast and strong roots of principle turn to rottenness. The gloom passes off, and the attachments of the heart shoot up in young and healthful hopefulness; and the sterner virtues, that had stood out in the stir and violence, alone and naked, are again clothed in honour. In time, all changes again; the tender soon die, and the honours of the strong fade and fall off, and all is left bare, and calm, and cold. Men undergo such changes in passing through the different stages of society, that the last of the same nation become the very opposite of the first. Where they were once daring and hardy, we now find them cautious and enervated; and where were those who sprung up in the warmth of the feelings, and grew vigorous in the strife and shake of the passions, there we now see men, slow to be moved, and quick to calculate, reasoners in their love, and prudent in their hate.

These alterations are not only seen abroad in the world, but run into all the pursuits of our minds. Besides holding an influence over our daily conduct, our studies and retired reflections are guided by them; and these, again, send us forth among men, tempered and cast anew.

Thus mutually operating, in an age of simple and natural manners, there was an absence of art in its literature. You seemed to be looking into the very minds of its authors, and even in their conceits there was an air of good nature and honest playfulness, which put you at ease, and begat a kind of companionable acquaintance. You never stood upon ceremony; nor was an author's book a court dress for his thoughts and feelings. So nigh did he come to plain truth in descriptions of outward things, that, instead of feeling that you were looking at nature through another's eyes, you forgot that you were not with him amidst the scenes he was describing—you felt on your hand the coolness of the dark, green, polished leaves as you caught at them bending to the 'breathing wind,' and heard,

'Soft rumbling brookes, that gentle slumbler drew.'

With a change in literature, went along a change of manners; and with the natural, and vigorous, and chivalrous, and marvellous in books, was laid by a marked and free conduct in life. Then came profession for sincerity; the heartlessness of wit, for the feeling of genius, and an ingenious and curious finishing of forced thoughts, and an artificial ornamenting of dim images, for strong and simple reflections, and figures as distinct as those of nature, and attired in her eternal beauties. The world, at last, grew tired of this excess of artifice; every thing they saw, or touched, was tarnished with its paltry daubings till the senses ached at it; its mannered trickery became stale and common; and its faded tawdriness was, in the end, thrown into a corner, a fashionless cast-off.

To this has succeeded a time of dull tranquillity—a solemn parade of reason, holding boastful dominion over passions too feeble for rebellion, and laying restrictions upon the wanderings of earth-bound and sluggish imaginations. Instinctive actions are holden dangerous—we are made mere reasoning machines, unmoved by natural impulses; and instead of quickening the growth of the fancy and imagination along with reason, they are cut off as profitless shoots, which would overtop and dwarf the judgment. In our new-gotten zeal for the useful, we overlook our mixed condition; not considering that every sinless quality of the heart, and every faculty of the mind, is bestowed on us for good—that the romantick may give a warmth and action to feelings dulled in the tame business of the world; and that reachings after qualities higher than our common natures, may shed a pure exaltation of spirit over us, which will brighten and make glad the humblest actions and relations of our lives. We are freshened and restored by the marvellous; and looking on finely touched beauties, opens us to innocent cheerfulness and a tenderness of heart, which keep kindred movement with all about us. This gives an exhilarating variety to society, which makes us better pleased with each other, and with ourselves. Life is crowded with homely duties; and far reaching calculations, and untiring labour must procure, and hold its comforts. But, surely, this is not an age marked by the want of such virtues, nor are our sins those of over wrought imagination, or untamed passions. The armour of knights errant may rust by the wall for all us; nor do we hear of such lovers as blessed the days of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, when one became enamoured of the bare description of a woman, and sighed out his life, kissing her little foot-print on Richmond Hill.

This state of things, would not so much alarm the lovers of the natural, were it confined to 'grown folks;' for nature has a self restoring power, and would grow up, and spread again, with the generation that is coming on; and the mingling of unforced with cultivated beauties, would come to be loved in things and characters. But we have foreseen and provided against this change. We have not only piled system upon system for our own defence, but our children, too, are training up for the contest. In their dwarfish and tender infancy, they are clad in the heavy and hard panoply of reason, as if they were surrounded by outraging passions, wild and gloomy superstitions, murderous giants, and fiendish ougres. A severer contest, and a meaner servitude, threaten them—cunning, watchful selfishness, and petty envyings, and, even in their better deeds, an impertinent intermeddling with the rights of others ; and an ostentatious show of charities, and a self consequence in doing good.

Amidst the multitude of mankind, it is the mean vices that are numerous, and have free play—that enter too deeply into them, and are too thoroughly engrained, to be reasoned out. Opposite passions must be brought into the contest—self sacrificing love—ardent longings after far-off excellences. and all glimpses of forms and undefined creations, that live and move in the beautiful and glorious spectacles of warmed imaginations. These need not bear down, or harm the judgment ; but in proud subjection, give it strength, and widen its dominions. The mind that sometimes passes out from the commonness of life into ideal wonders, will come back better fitted to understand the world, and with a deeper relish for the repose of reality.

But, by the present system, the strong passions of children are to be cut off—no high excitements are to be set in their way—the little creatures are scarcely allowed to feel, until they can explain why, and how, they are moved ; and they are taught to analyse their passions, till they are wasted away in the tiresome process. We seem to forget, that after all our attempts, they must grow up the subjects of some kind of sensations ; and that, if we root out the great, we are only making way for the petty feelings—that the reason will be perverted by selfishness, if it is not sometimes lighted up by a chivalrous generosity ; and that, untaught indignation, may often prove as great a safeguard against vice, as laboured reason. Their light emotions and excursive fancies are taught to pause, till all that has connexion with them are vainly attempted to be duly explained and understood ; and their kindling ardour is put out, lest it should throw a false glare over objects, and what was intended to strengthen, and give eternal freshness to character, is destroyed, lest it should warm into existence, along with all the good it might bring, some short lived errors of our early years.

We have become too officious in our helps to children.

Enough is not left to the workings of nature, and to impressions and tints too exquisite and delicate for any hands but hers. With a vain and vulgar ignorance, we distort the character she was silently and slowly moulding into beauty, till it is formed to our narrow and false taste. Anxious lest the clearness of their reason should be dimmed, their minds are never left to work their own way through the obscure; but ever burning lights are held up before them. They are not indulged in the conjectural, but all is anticipated and overdone. We do not enough consider, that often times, the very errours into which they fall, through a want of thorough knowledge of what they see or read, brings the invention into action; and thus gives a life to the mind which will survive, when those errours are removed and forgotten. Children may reason well, as far as their knowledge carries them along, and their reason may still preside over what their imagination supplies.

An over anxiety to make of babies, little matter-of-fact men, and unbreeched philosophers, will add but little to their sum of knowledge in after life, and nothing to that faculty which teaches them to consider and determine for themselves, and begets that independent wisdom, without which their heaped up knowledge is but an incumbrance. A child, now, 'learns by heart' how a shoe is made, from the flaying of the ox for the leather, to the punching the last hole; and can give the best of reasons for its being so made, when it had much better be chasing a rainbow. Such a system may make inquisitive, but not wide ranging minds. It kills the poetry of our character, without enlarging our philosophy; and will hardly make us worthier members of society, or give us the humble compensation of turning out better mechanicks.

We do not mean by this, that those faculties and acquisitions, which rank as the merely useful, should not be cultivated with care; but that they should be mingled with, and partially concealed amidst the growth of higher powers. For it is not those alone that send a healing influence up through society; but the latter, too, shine out over the world, and in their splendour is warmth, and life, and joy. Poetry is no less necessary to society, than well ordered industry; and feelings, akin to it in the lowest of our race, will lift up their thoughts, and purify their hearts. Society should be like the earth about us, where the beautiful, the grand, and the humble, lie spread out, and running into each other.

We have been led to these remarks, by associating whatever Miss Edgeworth writes, not only with her system of education, but with the bad models formed on her system, which may be seen in the families of her admirers. Children may be met with every day, very knowing in all the mechanick arts, and the chemistry of cookery. The principles of boiling a tea-kettle—making tea, and making bread and butter, (which they should be eating contentedly, in silence,) are very orderly detailed. We do not mean to throw upon our author the errours of her disciples; but it will be gathered from what we have said, that we think she has errours of her own.

She appears to us, to have considered society too narrowly; to have allowed too little to the difference of situation; to have confined herself too closely to but a part of our faculties; and not to have attended enough, to the variety of individual characters. We do not say that she has inculcated the doctrine that all minds and dispositions should be reduced to one rule, but that she has not denied it with sufficient distinctness. She should have urged the language of her great master, Locke, 'Every one's natural genius should be carried as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labour in vain; and what is so plastered on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.'

It is quite time that we said something upon the book before us. It is entitled 'Readings on Poetry,' not because the commentaries go to explain the poetical character of the text, except in a few places, and those most lamely executed; but because they give the meaning of certain words which happen to be found in the poetical extracts. It is just the reverse of Johnson's quarto Dictionary, where words are defined, and the quotations follow as illustrations. Here you have an extract from Gray or Wharton, and then a long string of definitions, for the most part, of very common words, in a truly unpoetical and lexicographical style. It would, no doubt, be quite as entertaining, and a little more instructive, to have been, at once, turned into the Doctor's large squares. We could then have learned the signification of most of the words of our language, besides having a wide and infinitely varied range of most pleasant reading of the best poetry of our tongue. We are quite sincere in this; and do advise all anxious parents, who are alarmed at the thought of their children reading books, every word of which they may not fully comprehend, to begin with the first word in the dictionary, and, so, go through. The book then is in their hands, ready, in its proper place, to explain any word in the quotation of which the 'little reader' knows not the meaning; and the parent may escape the most puzzling of all undertakings, that of defining.

Indeed, the book before us can be of but little use in the way intended; as the words explained, are very few in number, and for the most part, the commonest in the language; while there are thousands past over quite as important, and no better understood. In studying the quarto, instead of the 'Readings on Poetry,' a child will avoid having its taste perverted by such wretched criticisms, as now and then occur in the work before us; and, what is tending to the same evil, will escape the mistaken idea, that because it has read at the bottom of a passage, what is meant by, 'cleave,' 'disdain,' 'cheer,' 'victim,' 'contest,' 'apprentice,' &c. &c. it has a more distinct notion of the *poetry* it has been over.* It is true, that this book goes a little further, and has wisely turned certain passages into prose, to deepen, we suppose, the poetical impressions upon young minds. But they are, for the most part, passages which did not need clearing up, and are quite as intelligible in the original, as in the renderings.

It is the destructive effect, which the plan of our authors must have upon the very subject they are attempting to make clear and familiar to children, which has led us to notice their work. What they call elucidations of poetry, have little more to do with that, than with prose; and all which is ethereal, and peculiar to poetry, must be lost in the dull and clumsy endeavour, to prevent a few misconceptions which time would do away, and to cram down knowledge, which the even course of things would bring in.

To stop a child in the midst of its pleasing sensations, to give a long account of 'quacks,' may learn it something else; but will never give it what we take for granted, poetry is read for, some poetry of mind. If this work had taken for its examples, merely plain sense prose, though we might even then have doubted the utility of its plan, we should have had a less abuse to complain of.

Miss Edgeworth, in her preface, (we presume it is hers, being almost the only well written part of the book,) is arguing against what she calls, 'transcendental metaphysicians who would have us believe, that matters of taste and sentiment are not cognizable by the laws, or amenable to the tribunal of reason.' This doctrine, we believe, died with the Della Cruscans; and Miss Edgeworth carries on a warfare with beings of her own raising up. We have always thought all the great powers of the mind to be united in poetry; and Coleridge, the most tasteful and acute of criticks, has told us, that in imagination and words, are the highest metaphysicks.

Miss Edgeworth has, in the main, reasoned well enough, but, notwithstanding, has given a helping hand to a very bad book. She did not consider that a dictionary appended to a poem, or deformed versions of it into prose, do not constitute an analysis or reasoning upon works of taste and poetry—that a true knowledge of poetick words is not to be obtained from Johnson or Entick, but is infused into us with untold associations, and grows up in us with our readings, and feelings, and reflections—that to have images floating before us in clear visibility, needs not a prismatical arrangement of rays, but that they look more beautiful in the natural sun of a poetical mind—and that if they do not always stand out as distinctly to the eye of a child, as in broad day, but lurk a little dim and distant, they yet appear like the objects in Milton's moon light, which, 'shadowy, sets forth the forms of things.'

Miss Edgeworth would have her children clear minded, and sound reasoners. But she seems to have forgotten that they must first have imagination, a poetical sense, and the unnumbered and defineless connexions and feelings, which make up that wonder of creation, that being of this, and of other worlds, a poet, before they can understand his character or works. Perhaps, there is not a more pitiable object, setting aside the vicious, than what is commonly called a sensible man, descanting on the productions of the imagination.

It would be childish not to acknowledge to the full, Miss Edgeworth's wonderful powers. But that her mind is highly and characteristically poetical, may at least be doubted; nor will her fondness for the sensible, cool and formally stately Akenside, go far to do away our opinion.

This book is made up of extracts, from Shakspeare, Milton, Pope, Parnell, Gray and Wharton, which are treated in the manner we have already mentioned. It is quite impossible to judge from it, of what age it was intended, its readers should be. Words and passages are laboriously explained, which a child five years old could understand, while more difficult ones are past over. Some of the notes, again, require the matured knowledge and judgment of twenty years, to comprehend them. A child, we fear, will be more sadly puzzled with the commentary than the text. It is a book for which every one, to use the words of the authors, 'must be too young, or too old.' If too young, let it be laid aside at present; if too old, let it be laid aside forever.'

It is time to proceed to extracts.

> 'Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans blest,
> The young who labour, and the old who rest.' *Man of Ross.*

'An apprentice is so called, from French and Latin words that mean to learn. Boys are put out apprentices when they are strong enough to learn trades; they are usually bound to their masters for seven years, sometimes only for five, during which time the master is required to feed and clothe the boy, and teach him his trade—the boy and the master are mutually bound in writing to perform their respective parts of the contract. If either of them act wrong, it is in the power of a justice of the peace to oblige them to fulfil their contract.

'During the first years of the bargain the master suffers a loss in feeding and clothing the young boy; but towards the end of the seven or five years, the boy's work is not only sufficient to pay for his clothes and diet, but his work becomes profitable to his master. It is obvious, that the time which an apprentice ought to serve should be different in different trades.'

We promise not to make another extract of such length. We have done it this once, to give our readers some notion of what are 'Readings on Poetry.'

To say nothing more about the poetical effect of notes like this, the utter absurdity of the attempt is too obvious to require much remark. The boy who did not stay to consider whether he understood the lines he was repeating, before he went over this note, will now strut in the full assurance that he knows all about them; and will take care to explain them to his sister the next time there are strangers by. Yet the poor thing is nearly as deep in ignorance as before; for what is the signification of the word 'portion'd,' and what, indeed, does the note mean? 'What is meant, Papa, by a boy's being bound to his master; they don't tie him to a great man for seven years, do they? And what is a justice of the peace? I have heard of such folks, but don't know what kind of people they are.'

There is no absurdity in supposing a child puzzled by such doubts, who is ignorant of words, which we shall presently find here explained. The folly is in confounding the child in our eagerness to hurry in knowledge, which would be acquired in due proportion with the growth of the mind's powers, and when he can understand distinctly, what his green and tender faculties can now receive but vague impressions of. Children are quite inquisitive enough for their powers of comprehension; and if the quality is not thwarted, or treated with indifference, it will lead them to all the information of which they can make use. Men have ceased to be pedants in books; we are now to have a growth of pedants in things.

After the learned law note just cited, it will be well to mention a few of the words, which are defined for the same children for which that was written. 'Engross, swain, solace, contest, antique, glade, expanse, cleave, disdain, vitals, mortar, ethereal, lacked, prize, scared.'

> 'Is any sick? The Man of Ross relieves,
> Attends, prescribes, the med'cine makes, and gives.'

'This requires no explanation.' Notwithstanding this note, we very well remember a good couple, who could both read and write, and yet, were mainly puzzled with the word, 'prescribes.' 'The Doctor,' said the man, 'subscribed for me.' No, said the wife, you should say 'perscribed, not subscribed.'

In another place, however, we find our authors alarmed, lest the 'little reader' should have his mind irretrievably injured by misunderstanding the following words;—

'Ruin seize thee,'—'These are simple words, but I find that they require explanation... ruin means destruction—I wish that ruin may seize thee.'

But we despair for the poor child's intellect; for what does destruction mean, papa?

> 'Go, seek it there, where to be born and die,
> Of rich and poor, make all the history.'

'That is to say, go and seek it in the parish registry. There is, or, by law, there ought to be kept in every parish, a book called the parish registry, in which an account should be kept of every birth, christening,'—

But we have promised to make no more long extracts of such a nature.

These learned essays on common or statute law, for children, are too absurd to be treated seriously; and it is a subject rather of pain, than of mirth, to see a mind like Miss Edgeworth's, so warped by system.

Our authors now leave law, for poetry, and it is difficult to decide in which they are superior.

> 'Ye distant spires, ye antique towers,
> That crown the wat'ry glade.'

After defining 'antique' and 'crown,' they come to the word 'glade.'

'Glade is an opening between woods; the glades near Windsor are frequently overflowed by the Thames, and are, therefore, called wat'ry glades.'

Could Mr. and Miss Edgeworth suppose that the epithet, 'watery,' was given by Gray, because, like all other low lands along a river, these glades were, perhaps, overflowed once or twice in a year? Why did they not look out through these narrow and shadowy openings between the trees, into the world of sun, and see the Thames, with its bright, silvery stream, winding along the deep green, and sending little glad and quivering sparkles of light, into the solemn gloom of the woods!

'Chase the rolling circle's speed.'—'These are all poetical expressions.'

In how much better taste it would have been, to have said, that it was an affected periphrasis, and arose from a characteristick fault in Gray—a fastidiousness which would not allow him to express a common thing in the usual way.

> 'To bitter scorn a sacrifice,
> And grinning Infamy.'

'Here infamy also is made a person, and is supposed to mock the wretch, who is rendered infamous—this personification is, perhaps, too bold.'

Besides the morsel of choice criticism which this contains, we have a specimen of the intermeddling manner of making useless explanations, which runs through the whole of this work.

> 'Thought would destroy their paradise.'—

'Paradise is the name in scripture for the garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve were placed by Providence,' &c.

We have observed, with mingled surprise and pleasure, the mention of the Bible, more than once, in this work; though we are sorry that Miss Edgeworth should necessarily be drawn to the conclusion, that the information, contained in this note, would be required by children educated upon her system, and who were old enough to study the works of Gray and Wharton.

Parnell, in his Hesiod, has these lines.

> 'He gave her words, where oily flattery lays
> The pleasing colours of the art of praise.'

'Oily from the smoothness and softness of flattery,—the epithet oily is also proper, as it is connected with the idea of laying colours, which are mentioned in the next line—colours are usually mixed with oil.'

Instead of giving this information, if it were necessary to say any thing upon the passage, it would be better to tell the child at once, that the figure was bad and incongruous, or that there was no figure where one was intended.

Our authors are perpetually forgetting how very ignorant their 'little readers' are supposed to be; as an instance of which, we cite their talking to them of 'Pandora, not sophisticated with perfumes.'

Adam's Morning Hymn is next entered upon, with prose versions, and notes critical, and notes explanatory, to which are tacked a little astronomy and a little mineralogy, for little boys and girls.

> 'Speak ye, who best can tell, ye sons of light,
> Angels.'—

'Why Milton calls angels sons of light is not clear.'

There is a glory about the epithet, which we should have thought would have revealed its truth.

> 'Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
> If better thou belong not to the dawn.—

'If it might not be more properly said, that thou (Venus) belongest to the morning.'

The character of this note, to use the words of our authors, 'we are sorry to say, requires no explanation.'

'Sure pledge of day.'—'Pledge is properly any thing given as a security for the performance of something that is to be done.'

We will hasten on; for it is something like an imposition upon our readers, to wear their patience with such matter.

The explanations upon Milton, we shall close, with as rare a piece of criticism, as is to be met with in these critick days.

> 'Fountains, and ye that warble as ye flow
> Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.'

'This sentence is incomplete. *Ye* refers to streams, or waters—*warbles* is an uncommon expression when applied to water, it might, however, have occurred to Milton from certain puerile contrivances, which were fashionable about the time in which he lived. Water was made to flow into pipes in such a manner as to imitate the song of birds.' ['Vide Plot's History of Oxfordshire, in which there is an account of very expensive works of this kind at Lovel-Enston in Oxfordshire, in which an ancestor of the author wasted a considerable part of his fortune.']

We could not refrain from giving this note at full length, though we fear, that in so doing, we have broken our promise to our readers. But *warble* 'is a vile phrase, a very vile phrase, indeed.'

Next in course, are detached sentences, with notes hung to them.

> 'How far yon little candle throws his beams,
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world.'

Our authors allow this to be natural; but come to the conclusion, that 'it is not a very elevated thought; nor expressed in very elevated language.' 'Naughty,' say they, 'is a common, and rather a vulgar word.'

We have always thought the passage to possess a moral elevation, and did not suppose, till now, that there was any one, who could read it, miserably torn away, as it is, from all with which it stood connected in Shakspeare, without being struck with its native and simple air, and without having a humble, but beautiful scenery grow up about him. 'Naughty,' it seems, 'is vulgar.' As we have read it in Shakspeare, we have always loved it for its old simplicity. It is not every shifting of fashion, which can change the character of words, any more than that of men; nor render that vulgar, with which we have associated so much that is peculiar and delicate. This same term '*vulgar*,' has become a very hackneyed phrase. We hear it from the prettily made up mouth of every Miss, just brought out, who learns, nobody knows where, that Crabbe is vulgar, Wordsworth silly, and Cowper, a very good sort of a man, but no poet.

The last that we shall notice are some few of the readings upon Gray's Bard.

> ''To arms,' cried Mortimer! and couch'd his quiv'ring lance.'

Our authors tell their readers what is meant by couching a lance, and then go on to say,

> 'If the little pupil, who reads this, is in London, I hope his friends will take him to the tower and shew him the horse armoury.'

This may be well enough; but we must add our hope, that the child, young as he may be, will not behave so unaccountably silly, and out of nature, as did one full grown master Harrington, who played mad, fell down before the figure of the Black Prince, and spouted Akenside.

A little further on, our authors suppose, that by 'troubled air,' Gray feigned, that the air, mistaking the Bard's long beard for a meteor, was exceedingly disturbed and frighted thereat.

> 'No more I weep. They do not sleep.'

This line is considered 'rather flat.'—Our authors have acknowledged having made a free use of the notes to one of the editions of Gray. It would have been fortunate for the reputation, and the taste of their 'little readers,' had they omitted their own criticism upon the above line, and inserted the following, from an edition of Gray, upon the whole passage. 'Here a vision of triumphant revenge is judiciously made to ensue, ofter the pathetick lamentation that precedes it. Breaks —double rhymes—an appropriate cadence—and an exalted ferocity of language, forcibly picture to us the uncontrollable tumultuous workings of the prophet's stimulated bosom.' They should have known better, than to have criticised the line otherwise than in the connexion in which it was written.

There is a criticism upon 'bright rapture,' quite of apiece with the foregoing, which our readers may examine for themselves. Our authors remark that it is made with an intention 'to caution their young readers against blind admiration, of what they do not clearly comprehend;' and it would not have been an ill timed direction to have added, that they should not, on the other hand, condemn all they may not understand.

*‘ The following lines relating to Edward III, we had supposed to contain a picture of the dreadful effects of that conqueror's triumphant progress through France. Before him, the affrighted inhabitants are flying in wild disorder; behind, they are mourning over the miseries and desolation which his ravages had produced.’

‘ From thee be born, who o'er thy country hangs
The scourge of heaven. What terrors round him wait!
Amazement in his van, with flight combin'd,
And sorrow's faded form, and solitude behind.’

‘ Our authors’ explanation is this.

‘ The poet describes the beginning of the reign of Edward III, as full of glory; representing him as attended by *amazement* and *flight*, and the end of his reign, [as] marked with sorrow, and with the desertion of his friends.’

‘ It is abundantly evident, we think, that this is not a correct explanation. In the first place, it is extremely forced and far fetched. It supposes the poet to call the early part of a man's career in life, his ‘ *van*,’ and the latter part, his ‘ *rear*,’ which, to say the least of it, is a very unusual manner of expressing one's self; and it creates an arbitrary distinction between the two last lines in respect to the persons to whom they are applied; that is, the *sorrow* and *solitude*, are represented as the lot of Edward himself, in the latter part of his reign, and the *amazement* and *flight*, that of *others*, in the early part of it. If the sorrow and the solitude belong to Edward, the construction requires, that the *amazement* and the *flight* should also belong to him. But as it would be false to say, that at any period of his reign, particularly in the beginning of it, he *fled in dismay* before his enemies, it follows, that we must have recourse to a different explanation.

‘ In the next place, the stanza, immediately following that in which these lines are found, contains a description of the end of that monarch's reign.—It begins thus;

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* The following remarks upon the construction put by our authors upon two passages in the Bard, relating to Edward III, were contained in a communication made for our Review. We had, already, been through the volume before us, when this came to hand, and could not forego the pleasure of hearing ourselves talk upon a work, which had required of us so much perseverance to read through. We hope, the gentleman, whoever he may be, will pardon us the liberty we have taken, in thus connecting his very just and acute observations, with matter of our own. We should gladly have given way to him, altogether, had his remarks extended to the work at large.

'Mighty victor, mighty lord,
Low on his funeral couch he lies!' &c.

'Now, if the termination of Edward's reign had been previously described, there would be a tautology in this stanza, which no correct poet would be likely to commit, and Gray, perhaps, less than any one in the English language.

'The exposition of the following lines is, also, evidently erroneous.

'The verse adorn again,
Fierce War, and faithful Love,
And Truth severe, by fairy Fiction dress'd.

'It does not, (say our authors,) at first appear, to whom this is addressed; but upon consideration, it seems that fury, war, and love, are called upon to adorn verse.'

'We are rather surprised, it did not occur to them that, in fact, this is 'addressed' to nobody, but that war, love, &c. are the nominative to the verb, and are represented as being *seen* by the prophetick bard, *adorning* the verse of some future period; more especially, as this thought occurred to them, when explaining the next three lines, which are so perfectly analogous to the foregoing, in the order and arrangement of the words. The lines are these.

'In buskin'd measure move
Pale Grief and pleasing Pain,
With Horrour, tyrant of the throbbing breast.'

'Upon this they observe,

'The sense is, that pale grief, &c. move on the stage in buskin'd measure—that is to say, in the solemn tones of tragedy.'

'But why did they not say that grief, pain, &c. were addressed in these lines, as well as love, war, &c. in the former ones? The truth is, there is no address, no apostrophe in either case.'

Had our authors carefully read the notes to Gray, of which they speak, they could not have fallen into these strange blunders. We fear, that neither these notes, nor all that have been written, could set them right, in what relates to taste in poetry.

The volume closes with some remarks upon Parody; but we have done with it. We presume that enough has been quoted to tire our readers, and to satisfy them, even should they approve of the plan, that our authors were but poorly qualified to carry it on. For ourselves, we think the execution worthy the design. Surely, children so very ignorant, as to require many of the explanations in this work, are not fit subjects for the kind of poetry it is here absurdly attempted to make them understand.

If it is intended to open the feelings, and give growth to the imagination of a child, he should read all, that is not in language too obsolete, in Percy's Lyrical Ballads, and works of the kind; and, though in prose, yet, for the same purpose, the Arabian Nights, Æsop's Fables, &c. We are aware of the objection to beasts and birds talking like men; but

> 'I shall not ask Jean Jaques Rousseau
> If birds confabulate, or no.'—

The feeling of kind attachment and fellowship, which the reading of such fables begets for the poor brutes, outweighs, in our perverse minds, all that has been said or written, for years, on the sad effects of so deceiving innocent and unsuspecting children. To back us in our recommendation of Æsop, we quote, though with some diffidence, considering that he lived, in what is now called, an age of darkness and prejudice, the words of Locke. 'I think,' says he, 'Æsop's fables the best, which being stories apt to delight and entertain a child, may yet afford useful reflections to a grown man; and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there amongst his manly thoughts and serious business.' To works of this sort should be added natural history of birds and beasts—accounts of manners and customs of foreign nations and tribes—and what is peculiar in the scenery of the countries, they inhabit or wander over. After all, the soul of poetry lives in the natural powers and qualities of the mind, and must be brought out by the study of circumstances and things about it; yet so far as impressions from reading go, it must be of the kind, which we have just mentioned. It is the delight of poets in years, and what they fed upon, when young. With the severer studies of children, we have nothing to do, at this time. The book before us was written to bring forward, and improve the poetry of character in children, and it is all to which we have intended to apply our remarks.

We cannot close without expressing our belief, that Miss

Edgeworth wrote but a very small part of this book. There is too much feebleness in it to be the production of her mind, though it relates to poetry, a subject upon which, perhaps, she is less qualified to treat, than any upon which she has written.

Perhaps, the expression of this belief, makes it unnecessary for us to say any thing in justification of the freedom of our remarks; if, indeed, it were not rendered useless, by the manner in which we have so often spoken of Miss Edgeworth. There may be those, however, who, in their zeal, will not discriminate, and because, we think her somewhat defective in certain qualities of mind, will not allow, that we hold her to be the first woman of the age, without any reservation; and the greatest tale or novel writer of these times, unless we except that mysterious wonder of the north,

ART. V.—*A Dictionary of all Religions and Religious Denominations, Jewish, Heathen, Mahometan, and Christian, ancient and modern; with an Appendix, containing a sketch of the present state of the world, as to population, religion, toleration, missions, etc. and the articles in which all christian denominations agree. By Hannah Adams. Fourth edition, with corrections and large additions.* 8vo. University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf, 1817.

THE author of this work is in such full possession of publick regard, from the benefit conferred by her writings, and the merits of her several productions are so generally known, that we do not deem it necessary to enter into an elaborate investigation of the manner in which she has executed this new edition of a very useful book.

All her works have been the fruit of great labour and extensive research. It could not be otherwise, where so many facts were to be sought among the scattered and voluminous documents, which she was obliged to examine, and where many of these facts were to be ascertained from the variant testimony, which she was compelled to adjudge or to reconcile. It was by her industry, that the history of New England was first embodied; and, as she informs us, 'the difficulty of reading ancient records, of deciphering the chirography of former amanuenses, and of selecting from cumbrous files of papers, as well as from numerous large printed works, original facts, and historical documents, exercised her eyes so severely as almost to deprive her of the use of them.' Such a sacrifice is much to be regretted, and should increase publick gratitude to the author, for so valuable and interesting a portion of the history of our country. This history has already received its deserved commendations, in some of the literary journals that have preceded ours; and the following extract from the remarks upon this work, in the English Monthly Magazine, is not a little flattering, especially when we recollect, with so much reason, what parsimonious doles of praise our brethren, on the other side of the water, have been wont to deal out to us. 'This work is professedly a mere summary, a compilation from other authors, and from fugitive political publications; the contents of which might many of them be lost, but for so respectable a repository as the present. The author of the work, in not arrogating to herself the honours of an original historian, has exonerated herself from a large share of responsibility, and at the same time has earned considerable merit, by the judicious use she has made of the labours of others, in expanding or abridging their accounts, as occasion demanded, and in mingling with them the sagacious and liberal reflections, which her own strong understanding suggested.'

The abridgment which the author made of her summary history, several years since, she executed with great judgment, and it has been introduced into many of our schools.

Her recent work, the *History of the Jews,* comprises, in a small compass, the most interesting facts concerning that remarkable people; and besides the larger and standard authorities from which those facts were drawn, she has collected many valuable accounts concerning them from various histories, itineraries, and treatises of established reputation. This brief and popular history is one that was much wanted. The author has included and condensed in it a great variety of matter, that cannot readily be found elsewhere; and by her constant and faithful references to the authorities she had consulted, she affords the reader opportunity for obtaining more information in those particulars, where he may wish for greater fulness in the historical details.

Thus much we have though it incumbent on us to say of Miss Adams' valuable services as an author; since this is the first time we have been led to take cognizance of any of her works.

It is worthy of remark, that the plan of her work, entitled *A View of Religions,* is her own. What was before imperfectly comprised in Cyclopedias, and large miscellaneous Dictionaries, concerning the various religious sects, that have sprung up in the world, she first brought together, and collated with voluminous ecclesiastical histories and theological writings. Though some may think that this is hardly worthy to be mentioned in praise of the author; that the design is very simple, and one which any person might chance to adopt; yet we consider the very originality of the undertaking much to her credit. It is in this case, as in many useful inventions, in which there is so much appearance of accident, and so little novelty, that no great admiration is excited; though much gratitude is due to the individual, who may thus have enabled us to substitute what will save labour and expense, for that which is complex and costly. Of the value and publick estimation of the work which we are considering, no other proof need be adduced, than that which arises from the numerous editions through which it has passed. In England, besides the editions that have been published of the work itself, it is the acknowledged basis and substance of all productions on a similar plan. This fourth American impression of her work, the author has very properly entitled, *A Dictionary of all Religions*;—the religions of the Pagans, Mahometans, Jews, and Deists, which, in her *Views*, formed a second part, are now incorporated with the accounts of Christian Sects, in one alphabetical Dictionary. Many articles are altered and enlarged, and several new ones are introduced.

Another thing deserving notice in this work is its impartiality. By this we mean, that the author has, as far as possible, allowed the founders or leading men of every sect to speak for themselves, in regard to the doctrines they embrace; that she distorts and exaggerates nothing; that she combats none of the arguments by which peculiar tenets are supported; and that she attributes to those who believe such tenets, none of the consequences which they disclaim. The rules which she prescribed to herself in these respects, she has rigidly observed; and though there are often various shades of difference in opinion, between persons belonging to the same sect, or denominated by one common name, which she could not be expected always to point out, and therefore individuals may not always be satisfied with her accounts; yet we are convinced that she has given the prevailing belief of every denomination, with as much exactness, as, in so difficult a task, could be expected. Thus in the article, *Trinitarians*, it would have been almost an endless undertaking to have cited all the explications that have been given of the doctrine of the trinity, and impossible to have reduced them into a compass proportioned to the author's plan. In the article *Unitarians*, it would have been alike impossible to point out all the varieties of opinion concerning the person of *Christ*, among those who call themselves Unitarians, in contradistinction from Trinitarians. It would have been, at least, extremely difficult to explain all the peculiar differences between the most distinguished divines classed under the name *Hopkinsians ;* for though *Calvinism* is admitted to be the foundation of the general system, yet there are so many qualifications, which, in some respects, are so subtile, and difficult to be apprehended, and so many inferences from doctrines, before believed, assuming the form of new doctrines, which Calvinists disclaim, that no small labour and ingenuity were requisite to give a proper unity to the account, in order to make a peculiar and distinct denomination.

Our remarks on the author's impartiality would not be sufficiently verified by detached quotations from different articles; —it is only by a view of the whole account of any particular denomination, that her fidelity to her own rules can be in that instance proved. We have not room to insert more than one article in which christians of the present age, and of our own community, are peculiarly interested ; and that we select, not because it is the best, but because it is the shortest of this class.

' *Trinitarians*, a name applied to all who profess to believe the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to Arians, Socinians, and all Antitrinitarians. ' The word Trinity,' says Mr. Evans, ' is not to be found in the bible, but is a scholastic term, derived from the Latin word *trinitas*, denoting threefold unity.'

' Theophilus of Antioch, a learned writer of the second century, is said to have been the first who made use of the word Trinity to express the distinction of what divines call *persons* in the godhead.

' Dr. Doddridge remarks, speaking of the ancient writers upon the Trinity, that ' after the time of the celebrated council of Nice, they ran into several subtleties of expression, in which one would imagine they studied rather to conceal than to explain their sentiments ; yet they grew so warm upon the subject, as to anathematize, oppose, and murder each other on account of some unscriptural phrases, much to the dishonour of their common profession.'

' The following is a brief account of the opinions of a number of learned modern divines, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.

' Dr. Waterland, Dr. Taylor, with the rest of the Athanasians, assert three proper distinct persons, entirely equal and independent of each other ; yet making but one and the same being.

'Mr. Baxter seems, as some of the schoolmen did, to have thought the three divine persons, to be one and the same God, *understanding*, *willing*, and *beloved* by himself, or wisdom, power, and love, which he thinks illustrated by the three essential formalities, (as he calls them,) in the soul of man; viz. power, intellect, and will, and in the sun, motion, light and heat.

'Mr. Howe seems to suppose, that there are three distinct, eternal spirits, or distinct, intelligent hypostaces, each having his own distinct, singular, intelligent nature, united in such an inexplicable manner, as that upon account of their perfect harmony, consent, affection, and self-consciousness, they may be called the one God, as properly as the different corporeal, sensitive, and intellectual natures united, may be called one man.

'Dr. Thomas Burnet maintains, one self-existent and two dependent beings; but asserts, that the two latter are so united to, and inhabited by the former, that by virtue of that union, divine perfections may be ascribed, and divine worship paid to them.

'Bishop Pearson, bishop Bull, and Dr. Owen, are of opinion, that though God the Father is the fountain of the Deity, the whole divine nature is communicated from the Father to the Son, and from both to the Spirit; yet so as that the Father and Son are not separate, nor separable from the divinity; but do still exist in it, and are most intimately united to it.

'Dr. Wallis thought the distinctions in the Trinity were only modal; and thus states his doctrine, 'a divine person is only a mode, a respect, or relation of God to his creatures. He beareth to his creatures these three relations, modes, or respects, that he is their creator, their redeemer, and their sanctifier. This is what we mean, and all we mean, when we say, God is three persons.' See *Sabellians.*

'Dr. Clarke's scheme is, that there is a supreme Father and two subordinate derived and dependent beings, the Son and Holy Spirit; but he waives calling Christ a creature, as the ancient Arians did; and principally on that account disclaims the charge of Arianism. See *Pre-existents.*

'Dr. Watts maintained one supreme God, dwelling in the pre-existent human soul of Christ, whereby he is entitled to all divine honours. See *Pre-existents.*

'Mr. Wardlaw maintains, that the three persons in the Godhead are distinct, but in using the term *persons*, he explicitly disavows all pretensions to understanding the nature of the distinction; and affirms, that by making use of it, he means no more than that in the unity of the Godhead there is a distinction, which, while he believes it to exist, he cannot pretend to explain or to comprehend.

'Dr. Jeremy Taylor observes, that, 'he who goes about to speak of the mysteries of the Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, talking of essences and existences, hypostases and personalities, priorities in co-equalities, &c. and unity in pluralities, may amuse himself, and build a tabernacle in his head, and talk something, he knows not what; but the good man that feels the power of the Father, and to whom the Son is become wisdom, sanctification, and redemption; in whose heart the love of the spirit of God is shed abroad—this man, though he understands nothing of what is unintelligible, yet he alone truly understands the christian doctrine of the Trinity.'

'The limits of this work will not admit of giving a sketch of the various arguments, by which these statements are supported; some of them may be found under the articles *Arians, Anthanasians, Pre-existents*, &c.'

In her account of all the present prevailing denominations of christians, we find the author equally fair, judicious, and inoffensive. These are qualities of eminent worth in such an undertaking. We do not consult this *dictionary* in order to become skilful in controversy, but merely to learn the history of religious opinions; and if the author had suffered her own views and tenets to obtrude themselves; if she had taken pains to recommend whatever pleased herself, by giving it a plausible exterior show; and had garbled and mutilated every thing she disliked, in order to make it forbidding and frightful; her work would have wanted what now constitutes one of its peculiar excellences. Thus the unwary and the unlettered, who are easily bewildered in the mazes of speculation, might be misled or confounded in their search after truth, and might be deceived in what they were most anxious to know; and theological controvertists might have derived the main benefit from what was intended chiefly for popular instruction.

We cannot forbear, though we are inadvertently led to the subject, to congratulate the publick on the present cessation of personal and criminatory, theological controversy. We have reverend and learned divines, preaching and professing their respective tenets, diverse from each other, and in many respects irreconcileable. Where all are permitted to examine the grounds of their faith, and to believe whatever they are persuaded is true, this diversity will continue to exist. We are not indeed disposed to vindicate, in a loose and unqualified sense, the innocence of errour, nor to approve a lukewarm spirit in the *Ambassadors of Christ;* but it is very possible for all to inculcate whatever they believe to be christian truth, and with all the zeal which its real or imaginary importance demands, without indulging their acrimony and censoriousness towards their brethren of different denominations.

ART. VI.—*Mandeville. A Tale of the seventeenth century. By William Godwin.* New York. W. B. Gilley, 1818.

GODWIN is a writer of a severe and sombre cast, who seems to take a gloomy satisfaction in dwelling upon whatever is deplorable in the constitution of society, or execrable and loathsome in human nature. In many parts of each of his works, and more especially in Caleb Williams and Political Justice, he writes with the spirit of a conspirator against the moral government of the world; and seems to look upon all the order, and beauty, and harmony of the social system, as Satan contemplated the delights of Eden, when he first alighted on the Tree of Life,—as something to be blasted and spoiled. But he has nothing of malignity in this;—he every where speaks like one of benevolent dispositions; but his benevolence is ill directed; he does not, like Satan, regard mankind, as those 'whom he could pity' for the evils, his own labours are intended to bring upon them. He compassionates them for what constitutes the beauty, and dignity, and security of existence. Though he sometimes speaks in tones of condolence, he more frequently utters the language of indignation and reproach. 'Of what use,' says he, 'are talents and sentiments in the corrupt wilderness of human society? It is a rank and rotten soil, from which every finer shrub draws poison as it grows. All, that, in a happier field and purer air, would expand into virtue and germinate into usefulness, is thus converted into henbane and deadly nightshade.'*

This, and a thousand other passages of a similar import, scattered through his writings, are not the occasional burstings out of a wronged and burthened mind, striving to pour off its bitterness in momentary exclamations. The same sentiment is expressed in various forms, by the author himself and his fictitious personages, and seems to be a settled and leading article in his philosophical creed. It has been, and continues, in a degree, to be a favourite doctrine with him, that all the restraints of decorum, propriety, and law, are infringements of the inalienable liberties of men, and constitute a tyranny, that subdues and enslaves the noblest principles of our nature. One infers, from the general tenor of his speculations, that nations are only great prisons, differing, principally, in the number of prisoners and prison-keepers. A kingdom or a commonwealth is but an epitome of the infernal regions, in which laws, and all the rules and distinctions of civil life, are contrivances to assist the strong, the cunning and the wicked, like so many fiends, to torment the weak, the simple and the innocent. The ministers of the law are represented as its most flagrant violators; the judge is the thief or the murderer, and the prisoner is not only innocent, but has been brought to the infamy of a trial, and the sufferings of a dungeon, by the noblest principles and most generous actions, of which man is capable. A hero, worthy of all admiration, is as likely to be found in a den of thieves, as in a regularly constituted army. The rules of social intercourse, and all the thousand nameless relations and ties, by which society is knit together, are no less absurd and oppressive, than the established rights of person and property. The prejudices and opinions, which time and experience have wrought into the human character, and caused to enter into the very composition and essence of civilized men, serve only to pervert and degrade them.

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* Caleb Williams.

Godwin's imagination peoples the world with an over proportion of the unfortunate good on the one hand, and, on the other, of foul and monstrous beings, bent upon mean pursuits, and in love with errour and folly—creatures, that contaminate the atmosphere they breathe, and communicate a moral pestilence by their touch. It becomes a noble mind to loathe such wretches, and show the purity and elevation of its nature, by acting in opposition to the maxims of the world. Whenever domestick or social duties interfere with this high way of thinking and acting, they may be violated and spurned—the citizen may defy the government that protects him; the husband may desert his wife, and the son may brave and insult his father.

These sentiments are not always directly inculcated; they are sometimes denied; but whatever may be the letter, this is commonly the spirit of his lessons. Though they often present sound maxims of conduct to the understanding, they generally shed a pestiferous influence upon the heart. One reads, without any transports, without any of the free and expanding emotions, which the thoughts of more generous minds inspire; but not without sensations;—he presses forward eagerly, not more out of interest and curiosity, than from a desire to be relieved from an indescribable aching of the soul and suffocation of the feelings, with which the stories of Godwin invariably oppress the reader.

At the conclusion, he finds himself sickened and disgusted with the world, as a scene of misery and guilt; he is ready to exclaim against Providence, and reprobate the constitution of nature, by which it seems to be ordained, that virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, honour and meanness, shall be idle and futile qualities, and that men shall be endowed with sensibilities, only to feel more poignantly the ills to which they are born. If he adopts Godwin's notions,—that all the miseries of the world spring from the artificial system of civil society, and the influence of false prejudices,—he becomes affected with a scornful pity of his fellow beings; he has an enthusiastick desire that they should come to have new, though he hardly knows what, views of happiness, and dignity, and honour, and begin to act upon certain new and sublime principles, which, however, he can but imperfectly define; he only knows, that they are altogether opposite to what the world has been accustomed to, and something much better. He regards dignities and dignitaries, habits of action, and establishments of all sorts, with the greatest abhorrence and malignity, as obstacles to this grand renovation. But these barriers seem to defy his efforts, and stand, the eternal breastworks and battlements of existing society, upon which he would waste his strength in vain. He, therefore, sits down in despair of the world, and contents himself with complaining of, and railing at, what he cannot hope to reform. He, at the same time, flatters himself with an opinion of his own superiority; he is at a distance from mankind, but it is because they are beneath him; and he consoles himself for being above their comforts, with the pride of being above their weaknesses. He is rapt in a cold and solitary elevation, where all the genial qualities of the soul are starved, and all the fountains of happiness frozen up.

Such are some of the leading characteristics and tendencies of Godwin's philosophy;—under which name may be comprehended the greater part of his works, for his fictions are philosophical treatises, no less than his Political Justice. His views of life, and his moral and political principles, are prominent parts of his thinking, and are always obtruding themselves. But notwithstanding all the absurdities, and distortions and misconceptions, with which his writings abound, they probably have not done much absolute mischief to mankind. The efforts made by him and the other writers of his class, during the latter part of the last century, to introduce a new moral and political constitution of society, or rather to abolish the old, doubtless aggravated the convulsions which then took place, and which have not yet wholly subsided, and of which there are probably some spasms yet to come. But those agitations have been greatly salutary; and we, in this country, have nothing to regret for having begun the impulse. They are like the reactions in the animal system, by which nature restores herself, and health is renovated.

A revolution, when it does not bring about a fundamental subversion and reversal of every thing—which it very rarely does—only accelerates society in the course it happens to be taking at the time. Examples might be brought in great numbers, to illustrate this remark. A civil war or a conquest may sometimes subdue the moral as well as physical energies of a people, and thus arrest the progress of society; but in general, the agitations of a growing state promote its growth, while those in a declining state hasten on its fall. Where some political principle is deeply rooted in a people, and they have a strong and universal wish for some modification of their institutions, that is well adapted to their modes of thinking and acting, every perturbation is likely to contribute to the wished for change. It has always been the mainspring of the domestick policy of the English, to establish and maintain a regulated liberty, and it is matter of curious observation to remark, how they were regularly tending to this point during the course of six centuries, and finally arrived at it under William and Mary. During the turbulent period, from the death of Charles I, to the expulsion of James II, they made the most rapid progress in shaking off the clogs and incumbrances with which William of Normandy had loaded their political machinery, and in establishing and perfecting their institutions. The radical and essential characteristics of the nation were, during that time, developing themselves. They succeeded, because their object was in conformity with their national habits and sentiments, and because, by each step in their progress, they were prepared for the next.

A process, not altogether unlike this, has commenced in the great republick of European states;—the end, towards which the sentiments of the great mass of the people appear to have been aiming, more or less steadily, for a long time, seems to be the establishment of acknowledged rights; so that every individual subject and nation may know the terms upon which they live with others, and have their rights so protected and guarantied by the dependencies of interest and the counterpoises of power, that they cannot be violated with impunity. This is a perfectibility, that may not be attainable by all of them, but it is at least worth the experiment; it is more desirable and more probable, than that proposed by Godwin and others of his class, inasmuch as it is intelligible, is not contradictory of experience, and does not suppose the breaking up and subversion of every thing; it only supposes a modification of existing propensities, and opinions, and establishments. It is possible that those, who have been fighting so many battles, forming so many schemes, and writing such a multitude of books during the last fifty years, with such a variety and opposition of views, may have been unconsciously co-operating with each other, in bringing about a state of things, to which the civilized world was already tending. Thus Godwin and his set may have done their share, though differently from what they intended. Though they may say of their proposed perfectibility, as Brutus said of virtue at Philippi, that they have 'sought it as a substance, and found it to be only a shadow,' yet they may have laboured to some useful effect, by stirring men up and keeping them in motion, and so putting them in the way of setting themselves right.

They have been useful in another way. By finding fault with every thing, they have excited others to investigation, and provoked them to defend and maintain with greater zeal what they thought worth preserving, and induced them to reform what was defective.

But writings, of the sort we are considering, are not so harmless in their influence on individuals, as on the opinions of society at large. Most readers, it is true, after a little feverish excitement, and a transient darkness of views and perturbation of mind, are brought back to themselves by their actual relations and practical engagements in the world. Some few, however, do not shake off the spell so easily. Men of little experience, imperfect and superficial views, and ardent aspirations to greatness of conceptions and high principles of action, are apt to imagine that, by these writings, they have arrived at the fountains of wisdom; and the more indefinite the feelings they inspire and the principles they inculcate, the more are such persons disposed to imbibe, and obstinately persist in them, as it is not easy to detect their fallacy. These speculations have infused into many, a well meant, but perversely directed concern about the affairs of mankind, which excites them to nugatory complaints, and vain attempts at reformation;—much to their own disquiet and the annoyance of other people.

Godwin is a writer of a forbidding air, arising partly from his affectation of stateliness and independence, and partly from his practice of mixing up too much of metaphysical and economical philosophy in his stories. He is violent and bold in the extreme, and sticks not to be coarse, if he can but be strong. His mind is well stored with knowledge, and he has reflected much and deeply, though not always justly, upon men and their pursuits. He occasionally throws out great and striking thoughts upon the philosophy of the mind and the economy of society. Propriety and probability are counted for nothing with him, and he seems to pursue his eccentrick course with more energy, the further it carries him from nature. He rarely thinks in a generous, pathetick, or kindly strain, though there are not wanting touching passages in his works. The most remarkable of this sort, now in our recollection, is that, in which St. Leon is described as visiting his daughters, after he has renewed his life by drinking the elixir. But, whatever may be Godwin's faults, he has produced two masterpieces in their kind, in St. Leon and Caleb Williams; and this ought to satisfy his ambition. Mandeville is not likely to add to his reputation; it is indeed a falling off, and is so repulsive and hard featured a story, that not many readers, we believe, have resolution to go through it.

Mandeville was born in Ireland, in 1638. He and his father were seized, with the rest of the garrison of Charlemont, by Sir Phelim O'Neil; and when the others were massacred by the Irish, young Mandeville was saved by his nurse, who put him into the hands of Hilkiah Bradford, a protestant clergyman; and Hilkiah, having dismissed the nurse, because she had 'the mark of the beast,' or in other words, was a Papist, took the child over to England, to his uncle Audley Mandeville.

A great deal is said about this uncle.

'The dwelling-place of my uncle was an old and spacious mansion, the foundation of which was a rock, against which the waves of the sea forever beat, and by their incessant and ineffectual rage were worked into a foam, that widely spread itself in every direction. The sound of the dashing waters was eternal, and seemed calculated to inspire sobriety, and almost gloom, into the soul of every one who dwelt within the reach of its influence. The situation of this dwelling, on that side of the island which is most accessible to an enemy, had induced its original architect to construct it in such a manner, as might best enable it to resist an invader, though its fortifications had since fallen into decay. It was a small part of the edifice only that was inhabited in my time. Several magnificent galleries, and a number of spacious apartments, were wholly neglected and suffered to remain in a woful state of dilapidation. Indeed, it was one wing only that was now tenanted, and that imperfectly; the centre and the other wing had long been resigned to the owls and the bitterns. The door which formed the main entrance of the building was never opened; and the master and all that belong to him were accustomed to pass by an obscure postern only. The court-yard exhibited a striking scene of desolation. The scythe and the spade were never admitted to violate its savage character. It was overgrown with tall and rank grass of a peculiar species, intermingled with elder trees, nettles and briars.

'The dwelling which I have thus described was surrounded on three sides by the sea; it was only by the north-west that I could reach what I may call my native country. The whole situation was eminently insalubrious. Though the rock on which our habitation was placed was, for the most part, of a perpendicular acclivity, yet we had to the west a long bank of sand, and in different directions various portions of bog and marshy ground, sending up an endless succession of vapours, I had almost said steams, whose effect holds unmitigated war with healthful animal life. The tide also threw up vast quantities of sargassos and weeds, the corruption of which was supposed to contribute eminently to the same effect. For a great part of the year we were further involved in thick fogs and mists, to such a degree as often to render the use of candles necessary even at noon-day.

The open country, which, as I have said, lay to the north-west of us, consisted for the most part of an immense extent of barren heath, the surface of which was broken and unequal, and was scarcely intersected with here and there the track of a rough, sandy, and incommodious road. Its only variety was produced by long stripes of grass of an unequal breadth, mingled with the sand of the soil, and occasionally adorned with the plant called heath, and with fern. A tree was hardly to be found for miles. Such was the character of the firm ground, which of course a wanderer like myself, avoiding as carefully as might be a deviation into quaggy and treacherous paths, selected for his rambles. The hut of the labourer was rarely to be found ; the chief sign of animal life was a few scattered flocks of sheep, with each of them its shepherd's boy and his dog ; and the nearest market-town was at a distance of seventeen miles. Over this heath, as I grew a little older, I delighted to extend my peregrinations ; and though the atmosphere was for the greater part of the year thick, hazy and depressing, yet the desolateness of the scene, the wideness of its extent, and even the monotonous uniformity of its character, favourable to meditation and endless reverie, did not fail to be the source to me of many cherished and darling sensations.' pp. 28—30.

The proprietor and occupant of this castle

'was deformed in his person. He was, as the poet expresses it,

'A puny insect, trembling at a breeze.'

He was scarcely equal to the most ordinary corporeal exertions ; and the temper of his mind corresponded to the frame of his body, tender as a flower, deeply susceptible of every unkindness, and whatever thwarted his views and propensities, unequal to contention, and sinking, as without power of resistance, under any thing that presented itself in the form of hostility.

'Yet this delicate creature was not slenderly furnished with intellectual endowments. Unqualified as he was for every species of hardihood, his happiness was placed in sedentary pursuits. He was an elegant scholar, and diplayed the most lively and refined taste, as to all those objects which address themselves to that faculty. He was, in particular, a most admirable musician.' p. 31.

His cousin, Amelia Montfort, had resided in his father's house during his youth, and had been his only companion ; and their intimacy grew into a strong mutual attachment. This did not escape the observation of the vigilant house-keeper, who laid the matter before the commodore, Audley's father. He thought the match an unequal one, and, being in a great rage with his son for so presumptuously and undutifully falling in love, took him to task upon the matter, and laid his injunctions upon him with some bitterness and severity.

'You would have thought, that a harangue of this oriental and unsparing sort, would have sunk him into earth, or shivered his delicate frame into a thousand atoms. It proved otherwise. What cannot the powers of almighty love effect? He shook off his infirmities, and appeared altogether another creature from what he had been from his birth up to the present moment.

'Sir,' said he, 'do not think to awe me by the severity of your tones, or the sternness of your aspect—What have you ever done for me? When have you ever exerted the smallest care in my behalf? You have deserted me from the hour of my birth, as the bird of the wilderness deserts her eggs, leaving them to be hatched as they may. When I was a child, did you ever hold me in your arms? Did I ever experience from you one caress, or so much as a smile? Have not your voice and your presence always been to me a source of unmingled terror? Did you ever wish me to live? Did you ever love me for a moment? I have a conception of the character of a father; and had it been my lot to have been blessed in such a relation, I think I could even have adored the being, who was the source to me of unspeakable sensations. But I am the outcast of the world, cut off from every friend. I have been a prisoner under the paternal roof, and have more dreaded to approach you, than the vilest slave to the most cruel eastern tyrant.—Thus blighted and forlorn, what could I do? I have found a friend, a friend that is more than all the world to me. I have but one consolation; there is but one tie by which I hold to the present scene of existence. But that consolation has now for years made up to me the loss of every thing else. My cousin is to me a spring of inconceivable delights. When I am fatigued, she cherishes me; when I am sick, she is my nurse; when I am overwhelmed with all the griefs that my state and constitution cast upon me, her smiles are the only thing that make existence supportable. She calms my impatience; she drives away my inward distress by the sweetness of her countenance; her power over me is without a limit. I cannot part with her. She is the pole-star by which I steer through the voyage of life; and if you put out her light, my days and nights to come will be purposeless, and wrapped in everlasting darkness. You have done me no good; you have scarcely at any time troubled yourself with any thing that concerns me; in this, which is every thing to my poor desolate heart, I conjure you let me alone. I will not be awed; I will not be cajoled; nothing shall turn me aside from the part I have chosen for myself. I know not why I speak this; not with the hope to move your inflexible spirit; but I speak it to lighten my heart. All my paths shall be direct; and the few words I shall utter—few certainly shall I ever address to a father—shall at least be unstained with duplicity and falsehood.' pp. 36, 37.

Audley was then sent to London, and, for the purpose of effectually putting a stop to the apprehended connexion, Amelia was married to Lieutenant Thompson, a lame gentleman, and one of the commodore's dependents. On receiving intelligence of this event, Audley refused to believe it; he flew to his father's house, where an end was put to his incredulity by a letter from Amelia herself.

'Audley, I am married. It is for your sake I have done this. Nothing but the consideration of your welfare, could have prevailed with me. If I had not complied, your ruin would have been inevitable. I have removed the only obstacle that could turn you aside from that career of honour and virtue, for which nature designed you. Do not be angry with me. The act by which I have sealed our separation, was not the act of infidelity or indifference. Forgive it! But, above all, be happy, my l——! Be happy!' pp. 49, 50.

'All his agitation was now past. No more of violence, or raving, or impatience, was ever again discovered in Audley. The tears at first rolled in streams down his cheeks; but not a muscle of his face was moved. He remained the statue of despair. No smile from that day ever lighted his countenance; no accident ever raised up his head, or prompted him to look upon the heavens, or with a direct view to behold the sun or the stars.—Narrow as had been the scene of his education, in this one event he had lost every thing. The society of Amelia, the being for ever united to her, was the only boon in the globe of the living world that he had ever desired. And now all things were the same to him,—except that he had a preference for looking on desolation. All within him was a blank; and he was best pleased, or rather least chagrined, when all without was a blank too. There never perhaps was an example of a human being so completely destroyed at once. He was the shadow of a man only.' p. 50.

'My uncle had felt much regard for my father,—as much as was compatible with the peculiar turn his mind had taken; which was to dwell forever on one event, to consider that in relation to himself as the only reality, and scarcely to bestow so much regard on every thing that existed in the world beside, as an ordinary human creature would bestow upon the shadows of a magic lanthorn. Years rolled over the head of this unfortunate man in vain. While he was young, the amiable object of his early love was all that interested him on earth; and, as he grew older, habit produced upon him the same effect, which had at first been the child of passion. He loved his sadness, for it had become a part of himself. All his motions had for so long a time been languid, that, if he had been excited in any instance to make them otherwise, he would scarcely have recognised his own identity. He found a nameless pleasure in the appendages and forms of melancholy, so great, that he would as soon have consented to cut off his right hand, as to part with them. In reality, he rather vegetated than lived; and he had persisted so long in this passive mode of existence, that there was not nerve and spring enough left in him, to enable him to sustain any other.' p. 51.

Young Mandeville becomes a member of his uncle's family' and is put under the tuition of Hilkiah, with whom our readers should be a little acquainted.

'His figure was tall and emaciated; his complexion was a yellowish brown, without the least tincture of vermilion, and was furrowed with the cares of study, and the still more earnest cares of devotion; his clothes were of the cut that was worn about forty years before; and his head was always decorated with a small velvet skull-cap, which set close to the shape, and beyond which the hair, though itself kept short, protruded above, below, and all around. His gait was saintly and solemn.' p. 56.

'This just and upright man had all his passions subdued under the control of his understanding; there was but one subject, that, whenever it occurred, inflamed his blood, and made his eyes sparkle with primitive and apostolic fury; and that was, the corruption of evangelical truth, and the grand apostasy foretold to us in the Scriptures. In a word, the spring, and main movement of his religious zeal, lay in this proposition; 'that the Pope is Antichrist.' p. 58.

Hilkiah's notions of Popery and Protestantism are introduced at great length, and much to the ennui of the reader. Under the influence of the inhabitants of this castle and the surrounding scenery, young Mandeville becomes a solitary, reflecting, moody youth 'who dwells in a monarchy of which he is the single subject,' without sympathies or affection, except for his sister, (being one year younger than himself,) who is represented as all that is beautiful and lovely and divine, and who, while she is yet a little girl, is made to discourse like a matron and a philosopher. What is no less singular, a parallel is drawn between her on one part, and her 'shadow' of an uncle and the 'solemn' Hilkiah on the other. We are told many fine things of Henrietta, but not shown them,—her sensible plans and philosophical disquisitions are her most prominent characteristicks, as she is displayed in the progress of the story. She is often spoken of as something divine, and as such she is exhibited; she is a goddess in a shrine, who is shown only when she gives oracles. She and her brother are said 'to have loved, as angels may be supposed to love, above the cerulean sky.'

On the death of Hilkiah, his pupil is sent to Winchester school, where he finds his evil genius in his school fellow, Lionel Clifford, who is intended for the same Clifford, that afterwards made a figure in the time of Charles II, and is represented as surpassing all his companions in beauty of person, generosity, eloquence and accomplishments. He is without fortune, and harangues his school fellows so eloquently in praise of poverty, that they all come to despise their wealth, or rather to be ashamed of it. He outshines them all, and thus excites the envy of Mandeville. This passion chafes and festers in his bosom, till it corrupts his whole moral nature. Thence forward, fancying himself to be perpetually eclipsed by the genius of his supposed rival, he passes a dark, sullen existence, brooding over the thought that he is blasted by the fatal influence of Clifford, and meditating schemes of avoiding the destiny, that seems to hang over him, and avenging the injustice, of which he seems to himself to be the subject. He quits the school in disgrace, and Godwin, after his usual manner, represents this disgrace as fixed upon him and aggravated, by his generous and noble sacrifice of himself for a worthless school fellow. He goes to the university, which he soon leaves to join the royal army, under the command of Sir Joseph Wagstaff, to whom he is recommended as his private secretary. But the place is given to Clifford, by which Mandeville's enmity is ripened into the most deep and deadly hate. He quits the service, and his departure is represented as a desertion and the effect of his cowardice. An ill report of his adventure reaches him at Oxford, and his companions avoid him, as one tainted with the plague. On learning the cause of their change of manner towards him, he wanders out into the fields and woods, ruminating on the ruin of his fame and his hopes, till he is seized with a fit of phrenzy, and in this state, being found by two woodmen, he is conveyed to a neighbouring infirmary. He is afterwards attended by his friends, and, at length recovering his senses, he finds Henrietta, 'like some guardian angel,' sitting by his bed.

After his recovery, she attempts to reclaim him to the world and awaken in him hopes of the future, and rekindle his sympathies. For some time there is a prospect of succeeding, but he finally relapses into his misanthropy, and 'lives in human society like a creature that no way appertained to it; but as if he had strayed from a remoter sphere, and was a mere stranger and foreigner on earth. The desert was his country, and gloom and asperity the element in which he breathed.'

There are but few events in the subsequent part of the story; which is occupied principally with the progress of Mandeville's melancholy and enmity to Clifford—the plots and tricks of an attorney, to get the Mandeville estate into his hands—and the progress of an attachment between Clifford and Henrietta, which results in their union. Mandeville attempts to prevent their marriage, by seizing the person of his sister; and in his attempt to execute this plan, a rencontre takes place between him and Clifford and the attendants of each, in which Mandeville receives a wound by the sword of Clifford, that leaves his features hideously disfigured and distorted by the scar. Thus his arch enemy, as he considers him, has 'poisoned his cup of life,' and finally set his mark upon him, that he may be, like Cain, an object of the execration and mockery of mankind.

Godwin's other novels are very thin of events; this contains still fewer than those. His work has no resemblance to a dramatic representation of characters and actions, so constructed, that, in the perusal, a thousand associated images, recollections and sentiments, spontaneously spring up in the reader's mind, which are not directly expressed. It is rather the exhibition of his philosophical opinions in the form of dissertations,—a detail of the thoughts and feelings of his personages, and a consideration of the influences, which the incidents may be supposed to have, in determining their dispositions and characters. He is occupied with what passes within his persons, instead of what is taking place about them. His real actors seem to be certain principles and opinions and passions,—which are not qualities and ingredients, that go to the composition of his personages, and form a part of them, but rather make use of them as mere instruments. All this gives an abstract, metaphysical turn to his narratives, whence to readers, who flutter from novel to novel, in quest of vacant amusement, they have a rugged and forbidding aspect.

This effect is aggravated by his set, stately, inverted style of writing, and by his abundance of distant allusions, strained conceptions, and obsolete words and phrases, and forced expressions. Add to these, that his figurative expressions are violent, sometimes to absurdity. Take a few examples—his hate of Clifford hung, 'with insurmountable weight, *upon the neck of Henrietta's mind.*' vol. ii, p. 167.—'*Inhuman laughter* *flayed and mangled my ears, like a hundred lancets.'* vol. ii. p. 194.—*Doors leaped from their hinges, to give Clifford entrance.'* vol. ii. p. 77.—'*Henrietta entered, with triumphant wheels, into the fortress of my heart.'* vol. i. p. 198.—'There were certain *muscles of my intellectual frame,* that had never been brought into play.' vol. i. p. 163.—'These trials produced tremendous explosions and *earthquakes* in my bosom.' vol. i. p. 117. He sometimes repeats the same thoughts in the same language, even when they are of little importance; and gives the characters of his persons again and again; and is not content with stating how things are, but must reckon up all the possibilities of their having been otherwise, and pursue these suppositions into all their consequences. It thus happens that the action is often at a stand, and the reader seems to himself as if he were on a voyage, in a vessel, which should lie by half the time, while the master might take observations and work up his reckoning.

If one is not repelled by these discouragements, he will open to himself in Mandeville a rich vein of sentiment and reflection. He will find in it the elevated strain of thinking, nervous eloquence and keen penetration, which are characteristic of its author. Like his other novels, it contains an important lesson, forcibly inculcated—it shows the forlornness and misery of a jealous, sullen, aspiring mind, that makes great claims on the world, without proper efforts to justify or enforce them. The author in this, as in his previous works, displays, with appalling truth, the despotic sovereignty and all searching observation of publick opinion, in so much, that one trembles with the consciousness of being subject to this tremendous power, which he cannot fly from or resist. No writer has perhaps more adequately expressed,—what every body feels,—how much of the good and ill of life is involved in reputation. The sentiments we excite in others become, in some sort, a part of ourselves; we either bear a good or an ill fame, that, like a charm, makes us invulnerable to 'the slings and arrows of fortune,' or exposes us, defenceless and sorely alive, to the shaft. The opinion of men pursues and hangs upon us like destiny, and our reputation encompasses us like a luminous atmosphere, that exhibits us, either blemished or fair, to the eyes of the world.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

[THE Rev. S. C. THACHER, late Minister of the New South Church in this town, died at Moulines, in France, Jan. 2, 1818, Ætat. 32. He had long been absent from this country, for the recovery of his health. The following sketch of his character is taken from a discourse delivered in this town, the Sunday after the accounts of his death were received. The form, in which the discourse was delivered, is retained, as most favourable to the free expression of the feelings of the author.

It cannot be necessary to make an apology for offering, in a work of this kind, a tribute to the memory of one, who was not merely distinguished in the church, and for his private virtues, but also for the warm interest he felt in the literature of his country, and for the services which he rendered to it.]

THE news of Mr. Thacher's death, although not unexpected, spread an unusual gloom through the large circle in which he moved and was known. When we thought of his youth and virtues, of the place which he had filled and of the confidence he had inspired, of his sickness and sufferings, of his death in a distant land, and of the hopes which died with him, we could not but speak of his removal as mysterious, dark, untimely. My own mind participated at first in the general depression; but in proportion as I have reflected on the circumstances of this event, I have seen in them a kindness, which I overlooked in the first moments of sorrow; and though in many respects inscrutable, this dispensation now wears a more consoling aspect.

I now see in our friend a young man, uncommonly ripe in understanding and virtue, for whom God appointed an early immortality. His lot on earth was singularly happy; for I have never known a minister more deeply fixed in the hearts of his people. But this condition had its perils. With a paternal concern for his character God sent adversity, and conducted him to the end of his being by a rougher but surer way, a way trodden and consecrated by the steps of the best men before him. He was smitten by sudden sickness; but even here the hand of God was gentle upon him. His sickness, whilst it wasted the body, had no power over the spirit. His understanding retained its vigour; and his heart, as I often observed, gained new sensibility. His sufferings, by calling forth an almost unprecedented kindness in his people, furnished him with new and constant occasions of pious gratitude, and perhaps he was never so thankful to the Author of his being, as during his sickness.

He was indeed removed at length from the kind offices of his friends. But this event was fitted, and, may I not say, designed, to strengthen his connexion with God, and to prepare him for the approaching dissolution of all earthly ties. I now see him tossed on the ocean; but his heart is fixed on the rock of ages. He is borne to another hemisphere, but every where he sees the footsteps and feels the presence of God. New constellations roll over his head, but they guide his mind to the same Heaven, which was his hope at home. I see him at the extremity of Africa, adoring God in the new creation which spreads around him, and thanking him with emotion for the new strength, which that mild atmosphere communicated. I see him too in the trying scene which followed, when he withered and shrunk like a frail plant under the equinoctial sun, still building piety on suffering, and growing in submission, as hope declined. He does not indeed look without an occasional sinking of the heart, without some shudderings of nature, to a foreign soil as his appointed grave. But he remembers, that from every region there is a path to immortality, and that the spirit, which religion has refined, wherever freed from the body, will find its native country. He does not indeed think without emotion of home,—a thought, how trying to a sick and dying man, in a land of strangers! But God, whom he adores as every where present, seems to him a bond of union to distant friends, and he finds relief in committing them to his care and mercy.—At length I see him expire; but not until suffering has done its work of discipline and purification. His end is tranquil, like his own mild spirit; and I follow him—not to the tomb, for that lifeless body is not he—but to the society of the just made perfect. His pains are now past. He has found a better home, than this place of his nativity and earthly residence. Without the tossings of another voyage, he has entered a secure haven. The fever no longer burns in his veins—the hollow and deep voice no longer sends forth ominous sounds. Disease and death, having accomplished their purpose, have lost their power, and he remembers, with gratitude, the kind severity with which they conducted him to a nobler life, than that which they took away. Such is the aspect which this dispensation now wears;—how different from that which it first presented to sense and imagination!

Let me pay a short tribute to his memory. It is a duty, which I perform with a melancholy pleasure. His character was one, which it is soothing to remember. It comes over the mind, like the tranquillizing breath of spring. It asks no embellishment. It would be injured by a strained and laboured eulogy.

The character of our friend was distinguished by blandness, mildness, equableness and harmony. All the elements were tempered in him kindly and happily.—He had nothing of asperity. He passed through the storms, tumults and collisions of human life, with a benignity akin to that which marked our perfect guide and example. This mild and bland temper spread itself over the whole man. His manners, his understanding, his piety, all received a hue from it, just as a soft atmosphere communicates its own tender and tranquil character to every object and scene viewed through it.

With this peculiar mildness he united firmness. His purposes, whilst maintained without violence, were never surrendered but to conviction. His opinions, though defended with singular candour, he would have sealed with his blood. He possessed the only true dignity, that which results from proposing habitually a lofty standard of feeling and action; and accordingly the love, which he called forth, was always tempered with respect. He was one of the last men to be approached with a rude familiarity.

His piety was a deep sentiment. It had struck through and entwined itself with his whole soul. In the freedom of conversation I have seen how intimately God was present to him. But his piety partook of the general temperament of his mind. It was warm, but not heated; earnest, but tranquil; a habit, not an impulse; the air which he breathed, not a tempestuous wind, giving occasional violence to his emotions. A constant dew seemed to distil on him from heaven, giving freshness to his devout sensibilities; but it was a gentle influence, seen not in its falling, but in its fruits. His piety appeared chiefly in gratitude and submission, sentiments peculiarly suited to such a mind as his. He felt strongly, that God had crowned his life with peculiar goodness, and yet, when his blessings were withdrawn, his acquiescence was as deep and sincere as his thankfulness. His devotional exercises in publick were particularly striking. He came to the mercy seat, as one, who was not a stranger there. He seemed to inherit from his venerable father the gift of prayer. His acts of adoration discovered a mind penetrated by the majesty and purity of God; but his sublime conceptions of these attributes were always tempered and softened by a sense of the divine benignity. The *paternal character* of God was not only his belief, but had become a part of his mind. He never forgot, that he 'worshipped *the Father*.' His firm conviction of the strict and proper unity of the divine nature taught him to unite and concentrate in his conception of *the Father*, all that is lovely and attractive, as well as all that is solemn and venerable; and the general effect of his prayers was to diffuse a devout calmness, a filial confidence, over the minds of his pious hearers.

His understanding was of a high order; active, vigorous and patient; capable of exerting itself with success on every subject; collecting materials and illustrations from every scene; and stored with a rich and various knowledge, which few have accumulated at so early an age. His understanding, however, was in harmony with his whole character. It was not so much distinguished by boldness, rapidity and ardour, as by composed energy, judiciousness, and expansiveness. You have an emblem of it in the full, transparent and equable stream, spreading around it fruitfulness and delight. His views were often original and often profound, but were especially marked by justness, clearness and compass of thought. I have never known a man, so young, of riper judgment, of more deliberate investigation, and of more comprehensive views of all the bearings and connexions of a subject, on which he was called to decide. He was singularly free from the errour into which young preachers most readily fall, of overstating arguments, and exaggerating and straining the particular topics which they wish to enforce. But in avoiding extravagance, he did not fall into tameness. There was a force and freshness in his conceptions; and even when he communicated the thoughts of others, he first grafted them on his own mind, so that they had the raciness of a native growth. His opinions were the results of much mental action, of many comparisons, of large and liberal thinking, of looking at a subject on every side ; and they were expressed with those limitations, which long experience suggests to others. He read with pleasure the bold and brilliant speculations of more adventurous minds ; but he reserved his belief for evidence, for truth ; and if the most valuable gift of the understanding be an enlarged, discriminating judgment, then his was a most highly gifted mind.

From a mind so balanced, and a taste so refined, we could hardly expect that fervid eloquence, which electrifies an assembly, and makes the speaker for a moment an absolute sovereign over the souls of men. His influence, like that of the great powers in the natural world, was mild and noiseless, but penetrating and enduring. That oratory, which overwhelms and bears us away like a torrent, almost always partakes of exaggeration and extravagance, and was therefore incompatible with the distinguishing properties of his mind.—His imagination was fruitful and creative ; but, in accordance with his whole character, it derived its illustrations more frequently from regions of beauty than of grandeur, and it imparted a colouring, at once rich and soft, and a peculiar grace to every subject susceptible of ornament.—His command over language was great. His style was various, vigorous, unborrowed ; abounding in felicities of expression, and singularly free from that triteness and that monotonous structure, which the habit of rapid composition on familiar subjects almost forces on the preacher, and which so often enervate the most powerful and heart-stirring truths.—His character as a preacher needs no other testimony than the impression left on his constant and most enlightened hearers. To his people, who could best judge of his intellectual resources, and of his devotion to his work, his publick services were more and more interesting. They tell us of the affluence of his thoughts, of the beauty of his imagery, of the tenderness and earnestness of his persuasion, of the union of judgment and sensibility in his discourses, and of the wisdom with which he displayed at the same moment the sublimity and practicableness of Christian virtue. They tell us, that the early ripeness of his mind did not check its growth ; but that every year enlarged his treasures and powers. Their tears and countenances tell us, more movingly than words, their deep sorrow, now that they shall hear his voice no more.

Of his social character I need not speak to you. No one, who ever met him in a friendly circle, can easily forget the attraction of his manners and conversation. He carried into society a cheerfulness, and sunshine of the soul, derived partly from constitution, and partly from his bright, confiding views of religion; a delicacy, which instinctively shrunk from wounding the feelings of the humblest human being; a disposition to sympathise with every innocent enjoyment; and the power of communicating with ease and interest the riches of his mind. Without effort, he won the hearts of men to a singular degree. Never was man more universally beloved. Even in sickness and in foreign lands, he continued to attract friends; and it is our consolation to know, that he drew from strangers much of that kindness which blessed him at home.

In his sickness I was particularly struck with his submission to God, and his affection for his people. His submission seemed entire. There was no alloy of impatience or distrust. His sickness was a severe trial; for his heart was bound up in his profession, and if in any thing his ambition was excessive, it was in his desire to enrich his mind by laborious study. He felt deeply his privation, and he looked forward to an early death as a probable event. But he bowed to Providence without a murmur. He spoke only of the divine goodness. 'I am in God's hand, and his will be done,' were familiar sentiments, not uttered with common place and mechanical formality, but issuing, as his tones and countenance discovered, from the very depths of his heart. A firmer and calmer submission could hardly have been formed by a long life of suffering.

His feelings towards his people seemed at times too strong for the self-possession and calmness by which he was characterised. Their kindness overpowered him. The only tears, which I saw start from his eyes, flowed from this source. In my last interview with him, a day or two before his voyage, I said to him, 'I trust that you will return, but I fear you cannot safely continue your pastoral relation. We have, however, another employment for you, in which you may be useful and happy.' He answered, 'if I get strength I shall use it for my people. I am willing to hazard my life for their sakes. I would preach to them, although the effort should shorten my days.' He added—'Should I forsake my people after the kindness I have received, the cause of religion and of the ministry might suffer; and to this cause I ought and am willing to make any sacrifices.'—Such is a brief sketch of our lamented friend. He was one of the most blameless men, of the most devoted ministers, and of the fairest examples of the distinguishing virtues of Christianity.

The Jesuits.

WHAT a part did these Jesuits act in France, as soon as they were admitted into the kingdom? They began by deceiving the king to grant them letters patent to authorise bulls of the pope the most contrary to the publick good. Finding that the judgments of the counsellors at law of the king, were unfavourable to them, they procured copies of them by intrigue, and, contrary to all regulations, they exasperated the king against his most faithful magistrates to such a degree, as to induce him to refuse their remonstrances,—enemies of all rule, all laws, and all magistrates, using artifices and violence to introduce themselves.

Such were the Jesuits in France for more than two hundred years, and such they have been every where from their first original.

To act with more maturity of deliberation, and to give to the king the time to discover and acknowledge the deceit, which had been practised upon him, the parliament would not come to a decision on the same day upon the discourse of the king's counsellors at law. Finally, importuned by the Jesuits, on the eighth of February 1552, the parliament passed the following decree.

'Concerning the bulls of our said holy father the Pope, and the letters patent of the king concerning the company of the Jesuits, after having heard the attorney general of the king, it is resolved, before we proceed further, that the said bulls and letters patent shall be communicated both to the bishop of Paris and to the faculty of theology of that city, that after the parties shall be heard, judgment may be passed according to reason.'

A little time afterwards, namely, the 25th of February 1552, the University of Paris passed a decree to present a petition to the king, that the bull of Paul III. should not be inserted in the registers of parliament.

The Jesuits, always imprudent, murmured that this affair did not advance; they made fresh importunities that parliament should proceed to the enregisterment, conformably to the contents of the king's letters. The parliament finally, on the third of August 1554, passed a decree in these words,

'The court having considered the letters patent of the king, of the month of January 1550, obtained by the priests and scholars of the society of the Jesuits, containing a confirmation of the bulls granted them by our holy father the pope, the whole connected together under the counter seal of the chancery, with other letters of the declaration of the said lord the king, that the court should pass to the reading of the said letters of confirmation, notwithstanding the remonstrances there mentioned; and having considered the request made to this court by the said Jesuits, and upon all this having heard the attorney general of the king, the said court, before proceeding further, ordains that both the said bulls and the letters patent of the said king shall be communicated to the bishop of Paris, and to the most ancient, and the faculty of theology of the city and university of Paris, that they may be heard upon these subjects and say what they think proper upon the occasion.

'Done in Parliament the third of August, 1554.'

Eustasche du Bellay, bishop of Paris, in the year 1554, reported his advice concerning the bulls obtained by the Jesuits, as follows;

'The bishop of Paris, to whom, by the ordinance of the court of parliament, have been communicated certain bulls of the popes, Paul and Julius III. together with the letters patent of the king Henry now reigning, addressed to the said court, to proceed to the verification, reading and publication of the said bulls, obtained by them, who call themselves Jesuits, or the society under the name of Jesus.

'After the protestations pertinent in this place of obedience and reverence, which he owes both to the holy see and to the king, he says that the said bulls contain several things which appear strange and inconsistent with reason, and which ought not to be received or tolerated in the christian religion.

'In the first place the procurers of those bulls and letters patent would be called the society under the name of Jesus, which is a name too arrogant for them—wishing to attribute to themselves alone what belongs to the catholick and æcumenical church, and which is properly called the congregation, or society of believers, of whom Jesus Christ is the head, and who consequently are under Jesus Christ; and they seem to wish to represent themselves as composing and constituting the whole church.

'2. They promise and vow the three solemn vows, namely; poverty, renunciation of all property, even in common, except certain cities, in which there are universities, in which they may have colleges founded for their students; but, by the letters patent of the king, they are permitted only to have one house at Paris and none elsewhere in this kingdom; concerning the erection of which house there is still a question, and nevertheless they say not, whether it is to receive the said society, or whether for a college for their students; if it is for their habitation they can have no foundation for it; if for a college, it is permitted them; but we must observe, that, even if they had the superintendance of the said college, still the said scholars are not of their company, because they have not taken the vows, which they are not to be allowed to take, until it is known what fruit is to be expected from their studies—also the said bulls imply that the admission and exclusion of the said scholars belong to them—and if the said scholars, already admitted into the society—having taken the vows, there would no longer be any exclusion of them.

'3. Because they mean to build and conduct the said house, and there live upon charity, considering the malice of the times, in which charity is grown very cold, and moreover considering that there are already great numbers of monasteries and religious houses already received and approved, who live and support themselves by such charities, to whom this new society will do great injustice.

'For this will be to take away from them so much of their subsistence. These ought to be heard before the confirmation of this new society, because they are interested, especially the four mendicants, the quinze, vingts, and the penetents; moreover, it would do injustice to the hospitals and houses of God, and to the poor, who are supported in them by charity; that is to say, the community of the office of the poor, the children of the trinity, the hospital of St. Germain Despres; and no doubt, that the charities of the hotel Dieu will be diminished by it.

'4. Although they have taken vows of poverty, still they mean to be able to be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, and even the greatest, as archbishopricks, and bishopricks, and even to have collation and disposition of beneficies—and although they agree and consent not to be able to accept the said bishopricks without the consent of the general of their own society and the brothers of their general—is it not here evident that, putting their hands to the plough, they still turn round and look behind them?

'5. Because they will not submit to be corrected but by the society, even though they were entered into the ministry of the bishopricks, to which however they will not be constrained, which is as much as to say—they may enter voluntarily if they please—and if thus called to the benifice of the curate—if any fault should be committed in any thing which concerns the office of the curate, they ought to be punished by the diocess, and, whatever privilege they may have.

'6. Because they pretend to a right to encroach upon the rights of the curates—to preach, to hear confessions, and to administer the holy sacrament, when they please, without leave, or permission, of the said curates—although in regard to said sacrament, they except the festival of Easter; nevertheless, for the confessions there is no exceptions which is contrary to the decretal, '*omnis utriusque sexus.*' It is certain, that such privileges have been heretofore given and granted to mendicants—and even to the brothers, preachers and cordeliers, from which privileges have proceeded great altercations between the said curates and them; to remedy which, the clementine was made '*dudum de sepulturis*;—and such altercations for the same causes will most certainly arise from this new source.

'7. Not only they encroach upon the said curates, but also upon the bishops—when they demand the power of excommunication—and the power of dispensation in favour of illegitimately born—without expressing how they may be promoted—and the power of consecrating basilicas, or churches and all other ecclesiastical vessels and ornaments, in which it is apparent that they grasp not only at every thing which belongs to jurisdiction, but also at all those which belong to ordination. For it is certain that consecrations cannot be performed but by consecrated bishops.

'8. They usurp, not only upon the bishops, but upon the pope himself, because they claim a power of dispensing with all irregularities, which power belongs only to the Roman pontiff—most especially in contempt of the power of the keys.

'9. Notwithstanding they vow special obedience to the Roman pontiff, and wish that orders may be given by him, especially, to be sent by him to the Turks, Infidels, Hereticks, and Schismaticks; still they desire it may be permitted to their superior, to recall them at his pleasure—even though thus sent by the pope—which is directly contrary to their vow.

'10. They are only bound to particular services without saying what usage any of them may make of their powers—each one remaining at liberty to say what he will, without being obliged to read or hear high mass, morning or evening services, or to attend to any other canonical hours—being by this means exempted from every thing to which the laity is bound and obliged—and for going to festivals, to the great mass—and to evening devotions.

'11. Because a license is given them to deliver, wherever their General pleases, lectures on sacred theology, without having any other permission—a thing most dangerous in these times—and which is contrary to the privileges of the universities; which tends to the distraction of the students in the said faculty. Finally, the court is intreated to consider and say, that all innovations are dangerous; and that from them frequently proceed many inconveniences, which cannot be foreseen or premeditated, and because they pretend, as a cause for the erection of the said order and company,—that they will go and preach to the Turks and Infidels, and allure them to the knowledge of God. With submission, their houses and societies ought to be established in the neighbourhood of the said Infidels. As it was anciently provided for the Knights of Rhodes, who were placed on the frontiers of Christianity, not in the centre of it. Certainly, much time would be lost in travelling from Paris to Constantinople and oth-parts of Turkey.'

One would think that these arguments and reasons of du Bellay, the honest bishop of Paris, would have been sufficient to convince the parliament, the king, and even the pope himself, of the pernicious tendency of this project of Ignatius Loyola and his satellites, that we must recollect the period, and who was pope, and who was king of France, and who was his mother, and Catherine de Medicis, and who was Cardinal Lorraine, and who was king of Spain, and who was the duke of Alva?

The Pope Clement VII, Julius de Medicis, had an interview with Francis I, king of France, and intrigued with that monarch so adroitly as to induce him to marry his son, the dauphin, afterwards Henry II, with Catherine de Medicis, his niece; a finished model of political and religious dissimulation and hypocrisy.

Pope Paul III, followed Clement VII, on the Papal throne. It was this Paul III, who established the inquisition, and approved the society of the Jesuits,—and it was under her, i. e. Catherine, and under her sons—being in intelligence with the king of Spain, the duke of Alva and the Cardinal de Lorrain, that the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's day was perpetrated; and thus the Jesuits had their origin, together with the Inqusition, in the most execrable period of human history. This same pope endeavoured to exterminate the protestant religion in Britain, by a bull of excommunication against Henry VIII. It was in the court of Catherine, that Mary, queen of Scots, a niece of Lorrain, was formed, a pretender to the throne of Elizabeth, her constant scourge and final disgrace, after having been, for more than twenty years, the centre of intrigues of Jesuits, popes, and catholick kings and priests, and English and Scottish nobles.

INQUISITOR.

The Man of Expedients.

Φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μεν προσθ'—ἄλλοτ' ὄπισθε.—

Homer's Il. E. 595.

'All means they use, to all expedients run.'

Crabbe.

'It is a fine subject.

'Button-holes! there is something lively in the very idea of them—and trust me, when I get among them—you gentry with grey-beards—look as grave as you will—I'll make merry work with my button-holes—I shall have them all to myself—'tis a maiden subject—I shall run foul of no man's wisdom or fine sayings in it.' *Tristram Shandy*.

The man of expedients is he, who never providing for the little mishaps and stitch-droppings with which this mortal life is pestered, and too indolent or too ignorant to repair them in the proper way, passes his days in inventing a succession of devices, pretexts, substitutes, plans and commutations, by the help of which, he *thinks* he appears as well as other people.

Thus, the man of expedients may be said only to half live; he is the creature of outside; the victim of emergencies; whose happiness often depends on the possession of a pin, or the strength of a button-hole.—

Shade of Theophrastus! spirit of La Bruyere! assist me to describe him.—

In his countenance, you behold marks of anxiety and contrivance, the natural consequence of his shiftless mode of life. The internal workings of his soul are generally a compound of cunning and the heart-ach. One half of his time he is silent, languid, indolent; the other half he moves, bustles, and exclaims, 'What's to be done now?' His whole aim is to live as near as possible to the very verge of propriety. His business is all slightingly performed, and when a transaction is over, he has no confidence in his own effectiveness, but asks, though in a careless manner, 'Will it do? Will it do?'

Look throughout the various professions and characters of life. You will there see men of expedients darting, and shifting, and glancing, like fishes in the stream. We will give a few tests, by which they may be recognised. If a merchant, the man of expedients borrows incontinently at two per cent. a month; if a sailor, he stows his hold with jury-masts, rather than ascertain if his ship be seaworthy; if a visitor where he dislikes, he is called out before the evening has half expired; if a musician, he scrapes on a fiddle string of silk; if an actor, he takes his stand within three feet of the prompter; if a poet, he makes *fault* rhyme with *ought*, and *look* with *spoke*; if a reviewer, he fills up three quarters of his article with extracts from the writer whom he abuses; if a divine, he leaves ample room in every sermon for an exchange of texts; if a physician, he is often seen gallopping at full rate, nobody knows where; if a debtor, he has a marvellous acquaintance with short corners and dark alleys; if a printer, he is adroit at *scabbarding*; if a collegian, he commits Euclid and Locke to memory without understanding them, interlines his Greek, and writes themes *equal* to the Rambler.

But it is in the character of a general scholar, that the man of expedients most shines. He ranges through all the arts and sciences—in Cyclopedias. He acquires a most thorough knowledge of classical literature—from translations. He is very extensively read—in title pages. He obtains an exact acquaintance of authors—from Reviews. He follows all literature up to its source—in tables of contents. His researches are indefatigable—into indexes. He quotes memoriter with astonishing facility—the Dictionary of Quotations;—and his bibliographical familiarity is miraculous—with Dibdin.

We are sorry to say, that our men of expedients are to be sometimes discovered in the region of morality. There are those, who claim the praise of a good action, when they have acted merely from convenience, inclination, or compulsion. There are those, who make a show of industry, when they are set in motion, only by avarice; there are those, who are quiet and peaceable, only because they are sluggish; there are those, who are sagely silent, because they have not one idea; abstemious, from repletion; patriots, because they are ambitious; perfect, because there is no temptation.

Again, let us look at the man of expedients in argument. His element is the sophism. He is at home in a circle. His fort—his glory, is the *petitio principii*. Often he catches at your words and not at your ideas. Thus, if you are arguing that light is light, and he happens to be, (as it is quite likely he will,) on the other side of the question, he snatches at your phraseology, and exclaims, did you ever weigh it? Sometimes he answers you by silence. Or if he pretends to any thing like a show of fair reasoning, he cultivates a certain species of argumentative obliquity, that defies the acutest logick, When you think you have him in a corner, he is gone—he has slipped through some hole of an argument, which you hoped was only letting in the light of conviction. In vain you attempt to fix him—it is putting your finger on a flea.

But let us come down a little lower into life. Who appears so well and so shining at a ball room, as the man of expedients? Yet his small-clothes are borrowed, and as for his knee-buckles—about as ill matched, as if one had belonged to his hat and the other to a galoche,—to prevent their difference being detected, he stands sidewise towards his partner. Nevertheless, the circumstance makes him a more vivacious dancer, since, by the rapidity of his motions, he prevents a too curious examination from the spectators.

Search farther into his dress. You will find that he very genteelly dangles *one* glove. There are five pins about him, and as many buttons gone, or button-holes broken. His pocket-book is a newspaper. His fingers are his comb, and the palm of his hand his clothes-brush. He conceals his antiquated linen by the help of close garments, and adroitly claps a burr on the rent hole of his stocking while walking to church.

Follow him home. Behold his felicitous knack of metamorphosing all kinds of furniture into all kinds of furniture. A brick constitutes his right andiron, and a stone his left. His shovel stands him in lieu of tongs. His bellows is his hearth-brush, and a hat his bellows, and that too borrowed from a broken window-pane. He shaves himself without a looking-glass, by the sole help of imagination. He sits down on a table. His fingers are his snuffers. He puts his candlestick into a chair. That candlestick is a decanter. That decanter was borrowed. That borrowing was without leave. He drinks wine out of a tumbler. A fork is his cork-screw. His wine-glass he converts into a standish.

Very ingenious is he in the whole business of writing a letter. For that purpose he makes use of three eighths of a sheet of paper. His knees are his writing desk. His ruler is a book cover, and his pencil a spoon handle. He mends his pen with a pair of scissors. He dilutes his ink with water till it is reduced to invisibility. He uses ashes for sand. He seals his letter with the shreds and relicks of his wafer box. His seal is a pin.

When he takes a journey, his whiplash—But I shall myself be a man of expedients, if I fill ten pages with these minute details.

Oh reader, if you have smiled at any parts of the foregoing representation, let it be to some purpose. There is no fault we are all so apt to indulge, as that into which we are pushed by the ingenuity of indolence, namely, the invention of expedients.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

Translation of the First Satire of Boileau.

THE VICES OF PARIS.

Imitated from the third of Juvenal.

(1)Damon, whose wit so long amus'd the town,
In works unmatch'd for numbers or renown,
But who, poor wight! could scarcely earn a coat
Of meanest serge for all he ever wrote;
Who own'd no linen for his summer wear,
Nor cloak, to shield him from the wintry air;
Whose famish'd looks and miserable frame
Far'd no whit better for his wide-spread fame;
Wearied at length of lavishing his time,
His powers, and comfort, in the trade of rhyme,
Worn down with living daily upon trust,
And plung'd, by ill success, in deep disgust,
No longer knowing what on earth to do,
Without one garment, and without one sous,
Far from these wretched haunts has lately flown,
And carried off——his misery alone.—
Sheriffs, and writs, and courts, he leaves behind,
For that repose, which he could never find.—
To some blest region he resolves to go,
Where Law, his fell, inexorable foe,
Presents no yawning prison to his gaze,
To crush the hopes of his remaining days,
(2)No rude green cap (not useless, I allow)
To blast the laurels which adorn his brow.

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(1) Under this name, the author alludes to a good poet and scholar, whose name was Francois Cassandre; but an unsuccessful and unhappy misanthrope.

(2) This alludes to the law, borrowed from the Romans, that insolvent debtors should wear a green bonnet, as a mark of disgrace for having been negligent in their affairs.

Yet on the day that saw our bard depart,
Wrung by the achings of a broken heart,
More lank and wasted than a penitent,
Whose starving frame has weathered out a Lent,
His eyes struck fire, his bosom rose and fell,
As thus he bade the town a long farewell.
'Since, in this spot, which once the Muses blest,
Genius and merit are no more carest,
Where, as if rhyme deserv'd some special rod,
A poet seems to be accurs'd of God,
Since virtue finds no hearth nor shelter here,
O let me seek some cave or desert drear,
Where legal torments never can approach,
Nor paltry tipstaffs on the gloom encroach.
Far from a cruel world I'll soothe my cares,
Nor weary heav'n with unavailing prayers.
While yet my own—in spite of adverse fate,
While yet my years impose an easy weight,
Before my tott'ring steps shall feebly tread,
Or fate have spun my utmost length of thread,
The dear reflection that I yet can go,
Is the sole solace of this life of woe.
(3) *George*, if he likes, may here forever dwell,
He knows the art of living here full well.
He can produce his millions at command,
Which fraud has pour'd into his grasping hand;
At first a lacquey—then a merchant's clerk,
Now count and marquis—profitable work!
Let *Jaquin* here remain, if Jaquin will,
Who rivals war and famine with his skill,
Whose rents and dues, could they in order lie,
(4) Might e'en a folio Calepin outvie.
Here let him stay, and o'er his subjects reign,
For sure, half Paris is his own domain.
But I—should I at Paris live—alas!
In what strange modes would my existence pass!
I know not how to cheat, deceive, or lie,
And though I did, I hope I ne'er should try.
I know not how to pocket an affront,

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(3) The names of *George* and *Jaquin* are intended to represent oppressive farmers-general.

(4) To a friend, who revised this translation, and suggested several important corrections, I am indebted for the information, that Calepin is an abbreviation of Calepino, the name of an Augustine monk, who compiled a famous vocabulary of the Latin tongue, afterwards enlarged to 2 vols. folio. My French commentator was very meagre on this article.

And rascal creditors might find me blunt.
(5)In flatt'ring sonnets I could never fawn
On every fool, till every fool should yawn.
Nor to the highest bidder sell my verse,
Nor lavish incense to supply my purse.
Yes, I am forc'd some loftier aim to choose,
For my fastidious and aspiring muse.
My soul is rustick, proud, and rough, (for shame!)
And gives to every thing its proper name.
(6)I always flatly call a cat, a cat,
(7)And Rolet, rogue, in language just as flat.
I cannot exercise a pander's art,
Nor can I play the vile seducer's part—
So here I pine, a poor and sad recluse,
A lifeless trunk—a thing unfit for use.'
"But why," 'tis ask'd, "should I, this out-of-date,
This churlish, alms-house virtue cultivate!
Pride to the rich man justly is allow'd,
But hark! the poor must crouch, and ne'er be proud.
An author thus, whom fate from wealth debars,
Corrects the influence of his evil stars.
And thus dame fortune, in this iron age,
When seiz'd with fits of wild and frolick rage,
At virtue's cost, promotes some favourite dear,
(8)And of a pedant makes a duke and peer.
(9)Thus, at the summit of the wheel to-day,
An upstart triumphs with unbounded sway,
Who should have *driv'n*, in livery complete,
The coach, where now he holds his lordly seat;
But ah! relying on his fatal skill
To stretch the king's prerogative at will,
He by a few wild projects of finance,
Built his own fortune on the spoils of France.

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(5) He here alludes to the sonnets which Pelletier was in the habit of composing and addressing to all sorts of people.

(6) *J'appele un chat un chat.* This verse has passed into a French proverb, in consequence of its liveliness and simplicity. The Greeks had a similar one on *figs.* Τα συκα συκα λεγων.

(7) Rolet was a noted attorney, whom our author was not contented to lash in this place alone.

(8) The private history of the time gave this line a force which we cannot feel, and so it is hardly worth while to transcribe the name of the fortunate pedant-peer whom it commemorates.

(9) The French editor has either not condescended or not ventured to unveil the personal application of these lines. They must refer to some exorbitant farmer-general.

(10)'Tis true, that lately he has taken fright,
And for some months has disappeared from sight,
But when his last oppressive tax is paid,
He will emerge from his protecting shade;
Then shall we see him stalk the city through,
And proudly hold his ill-got wealth to view,
(11)And boast his favour with the powers on high,
Despite the wrath that glistens in their eye.
(12)Meanwhile, poor Colletet, with filth o'erspread,
From every pantry seeks his daily bread,
A glorious trade, to wits and savans dear,
(13)Taught by Monmaur in many a lesson here."
'I own the generous bounty of the king
Has opened on the muse its fertile spring,
Repairing all blind fortune's errors past,—
And Phœbus leaves the hospital at last.
True, an Augustus sits upon the throne,
But what Mæcenas e'er will make *me* known?
Yes, who will stoop to serve a man like me,
(14)So out of fashion, and uncouth to see?
Besides, could I pierce through that frightful throng
Of famish'd rhymsters, who with zeal so strong
Press round the throne?—the first to hover there,
And snatch the boons they least deserve to share.
The hornets thus, a foul and useless race,
Rob from the bees their honey and their place;
Then let me cease to seek, with efforts vain,
What importunity alone may gain.
'(15)Ormond from heav'n the gift of genius bore,
His sole inheritance—the coat he wore;
Two crickets and a bed, his furniture,—
Ormond, in short, was desperately poor.
Wearied at length with dragging life away,
He pawned his little all, one luckless day,

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(10) Taken flight, I presume, to avoid the expressions of indignation and perhaps worse indications of resentment, which the people might inflict on him as their oppressor

(11) *The powers on high;* Boileau has it *Ciel*, evidently a bold metaphor for the king, whom he thus compliments for abhorring and even being angry with those very tax-gatherers, whom he was however obliged, and even justified by his prerogative, to employ for the support of his throne.

(12) A poet of some merit.

(13) A famous Greek scholar—a parasite, who got his bread from table to table.

(14) Cassandre's character (see note 1) is here developed.

(15) As my line forbids an anapœstick, I have substituted *Ormond* for the *St. Amand* of the original, which being very probably fictitious, renders the alteration more allowable.

And went to court, to try his fortune there,
Loaded with verses, and with hopes of air.
But ah! how long was this career of fame?
He soon retir'd, o'erwhelm'd with scoffs and shame.
A fever hastened through his veins to run,
And did that work, which hunger else had done.
'A poet once was every thing at court—
—A kind of fools they cannot now support.
(16)One happy Angeli leaves far behind
The finest wit, and most exalted mind.
'Well, must I struggle for a different goal,
(17)And from Apollo turn me to Bartole,
(18)Pour over Louet darken'd by Brodeau,
(19)And brush, with robe, the court-house as I go?
Heavens! the bare thought disturbs my shudd'ring brain!
What! bawl within that barbarous domain,
Where every day some Dœdalus of laws
Poor Innocence along his mazes draws?
There? where th' enormous chaos of chicane
Turns white to black beneath its formal reign,
(20)Patru gains less than Huot or Mazier,
(21)And Ciceroes are form'd by P— Fournier?
Ere such a wild experiment I try,
Frozen before St. Jean the Seine shall lie,
(22)Arnauld a dogged Huguenot shall prove,
And yielding all, to Charenton remove.

(16) Angeli was a fool to the king, who by pleasing some persons at court, and making others uneasy, fooled from them about twenty five thousand crowns.

(17) That is to say, must I quit poetry for jurisprudence? Bartole was a renowned commentator upon the law.

(18) So the French as well as we, have their Coke upon Lyttleton, on whom idle young students can vent their sarcasms. For such was our author, when he wrote this satire. George Louet made a collection of decided cases, and Julien Brodeau wrote endless commentaries upon them.

(19) Court house is probably an Americanism.

(20) Patru was a very fine advocate, but his love of literature impeded his eminence and success in that profession. As for *Huot* and *Mazier*, they deserve no more illustration than the sagacity of the reader will easily supply.

(21) Every attorney, whose name was the same with that of others of his profession, was accustomed to be distinguished by the initial letter of his christian name Thus, there was P— Arlequin, and there was P— Fournier. Of P. Fournier's character, the sneer in the text may enable us to judge.

(22) Arnauld was a celebrated Roman catholic doctor, who wrote against the protestants. As for Charenton, I know not whether there was some protestant establishment there, or whether the expression *Arnauld à Charenton* would imply the place where Arnauld actually resided. I should be grateful for information on this point.

(23)St. Sorlin to a Jansenist shall turn,
(24) And a fierce bigot loose St. Pavin burn.
'Then let me shun the place my soul abhors,
Where cruel fortune still with honour wars;
Where, sovereign like, proud vice presumes to tread,
With cross in hand, and mitre on her head;
Where weeping Science, like a miscreant base,
Is scar'd and driv'n from every goodly place;
Where the most priz'd, the *only* art in vogue,
Is how to play the most successful rogue;
Where I am shock'd in every thing I find,
(25)And where——indeed, I dare not speak my mind.
What man so cold to keep his anger down,
At the bare sight of this atrocious town?
Who would not learn,—that he might lash its crime,
In spite of Phœbus and the muse,—to rhyme?
Yes, on this theme with fitting grace to write,
You need not scale Parnassus to its height,
Nor to the soft Aonian vale retire,
Wrath—is worth more than all Apollo's fire.
"How now!" 'methinks, exclaims some list'ning sage,'
"What's all the meaning of this godly rage?
Why talk so fiercely? softer, I beseech,
Or to the pulpit go at once and preach,
And there, like other doctors, learn'd and deep,
Lay your attentive auditors to sleep.
For 'tis the desk's prerogative, at will
To vent all language, be it good or ill."
'Such are the railings of some worthless heart,
Which feels the galling point of satire's dart,
And thinks its crimes escape the eye of God,
By mocking at the gloomy censor's rod,
Puts on all sorts of brave, intrepid airs,
And though its weakness every trifle scares,
Waits till a fever rages through its frame,
Before it calls upon its Maker's name.
If lightnings flash, it falls to praying then,
But in clear weather, laughs at doting men.
Yes, to believe that God must govern all,
And wield in wisdom this revolving ball,
Or that our whole existence ends not here,
That will it never—when the sky is clear.

(23) St. Sorlin wrote a piece against the Jansenists.

(24) St. Pavin, an abandoned profligate.

(25) A friend of Boileau suggested to him the break in this line, which manifestly doubles its pungency.

'But I, who think, howe'er my pulses play,
My soul is better than a lump of clay,
I, who believe that there's a world on high,
And own the God who thunders in the sky,
Must thrust these haunts forever from my view,
Paris, my steps retire ..... Adieu, Adieu !'

INTELLIGENCE AND REMARKS.

Institution at Hartford for instructing the deaf and dumb.

A letter from the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, dated Hartford, April 9, 1818.

THE asylum for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, lately established, is an object of great interest with us here, and will be also to the philanthropist and christian, wherever the design of its institution shall be known. It is to rescue from a state of most entire ignorance of every thing, except the sensible objects with which they are surrounded, thousands of immortal minds, capable of the highest improvement in knowledge and virtue. This it does, by furnishing them with that necessary instrument of thought—language. Those, who have not known a person deaf and dumb, can have no conception of the narrow range of thought, to which a being, with a human form and an intelligent countenance, can be restricted. I have conversed with Mr. Clerc upon this subject, and have asked him, whether, before he came under the tuition of the benevolent Sicard, he had any idea of God, of a future state, of right and wrong, of accountability, &c. He gave me a reply, which I believe he has given before when similar questions have been put to him ;—'that he had a mind, but did not think, and a heart, but did not feel.'

By the system of the Abbé Sicard, lately introduced and now established in this country, the unfortunate deaf and dumb can be raised from this deplorable condition. They can be put in use of faculties of mind, of the possession of which, they had before been unconscious ; and thus,—from being objects of pity, shut out from the intellectual world and its inhabitants,—they can be admitted to a participation of most of the pleasures of science and letters. But more than this, they can be made acquainted with the all-important truths of religion, and can receive the inestimable benefit of its hopes and consolations.

To satisfy you that this can be done, you will need no stronger evidence than the paper which I send you, written by Mr. Clerc. The occasion of it was a request from me, that he would make a statement of the general principles of instructing the deaf and dumb. Mr. Clerc you remember is himself of this number. It will, I am sure, add to your surprise at the philosophical knowledge which he displays, and the accuracy with which he writes English, to hear that he has not been in our country two years, and that, when he commenced his voyage from France, he was entirely ignorant of our language. Besides this paper from Mr. Clerc, I have been very politely favoured by Mr. Gallaudet, the Principal of the institution, with a sketch of its origin and present state. These two papers will, I have no doubt, afford to you and your friends some interesting and valuable information concerning the 'Connecticut Asylum for the education and instruction of deaf and dumb persons.' Yours &c. J. M. Wainwright.

Mr. Gallaudet's paper—referred to in the above letter.

Miss Alice Cogswell, now twelve years old, and a pupil in the Connecticut Asylum, lost her hearing, and soon, in consequence of it, her speech, by the spotted fever, when about two years of age. Her situation, rendered doubly interesting by the exhibition of a feeling heart and ingenious mind, together with the perusal of a treatise on the mode of instructing deaf-mutes, by the Abbé de l' Epée, providentially in the possession of her father, Dr. Mason F. Cogswell, a respectable physician of Hartford, first induced Mr. Gallaudet to direct his thoughts to the subject of his present profession. He was, at that time, pursuing theological studies in the college at Andover, Massachusetts. In the vacations, the partial success, which attended his efforts to instruct Alice, by teaching her the mere names of visible objects, excited a still deeper interest in his mind for herself and others in the same unfortunate situation. After leaving Andover, in the autumn of 1814, Mr. Gallaudet devoted much of the ensuing winter to his new pupil. Her father had, for some years previously, been making efforts to ascertain the number of deaf-mutes in the state of Connecticut. In conformity with his suggestion, an inquiry on this subject was instituted by the general Association of clergymen in the state of Connecticut, and a report was made by a committee, appointed for this purpose, at a session held in Sharon, in June 1812, stating, that within the limits of the several associations in the state, there were eighty four deaf-mutes.

On the twentieth of April 1815, Mr. Gallaudet consented to undertake the project of introducing into this country, from Europe, the art of teaching the deaf and dumb; and on the first of the ensuing month, a meeting was held of seven gentlemen,—subscribers to a fund to defray the expenses of the undertaking,—in order to devise the best method of prosecuting the general design in which they had engaged. Further subscriptions were solicited, and they were soon ample enough to encourage Mr. Gallaudet to embark for England.

With one exception the subscriptions were all made in Hartford.

On the twenty fifth of May, Mr. Gallaudet embarked from New York, and arrived in Liverpool the twenty fifth of the succeeding month. On his way to London, he visited a school of the deaf and dumb, consisting of thirty pupils, at Birmingham, under the instruction of Mr. Thomas Braidwood.

During his continuance in London,—from the fifth of July till the twenty fourth of August,—Mr. Gallaudet carried on a correspondence with the committee of the asylum for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, soliciting from them and the instructer, the communication of that knowledge, of which he was in quest. This was denied him, except on the condition of his continuing *three years* an usher in the asylum, instructing one of its classes daily; terms which he declined accepting

His time, however, in London was not entirely lost, with reference to the object he had in view;—for he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Abbé Sicard, who was then in that city, and of attending his lectures on the instruction of deaf-mutes, which this celebrated teacher was then delivering, with the aid of his pupils Massieu and Clerc. *As soon* as the object of Mr. Gallaudet's pursuit was made known to the Abbé Sicard, he professed a cordial disposition to promote its accomplishment by all the aid in his power. The sequel will show how generously his professions were carried into effect, and how kindly Providence thus gave Mr. Gallaudet the opportunity of becoming personally known to the Abbé Sicard.

On the twenty seventh of August, Mr. Gallaudet arrived in Edinburgh. Here, also, he sought admission into the asylum for the deaf and dumb. It would most cheerfully have been afforded him, —for a disposition to this effect was fully manifested, both by the officers and instructer of the institution,—had not the wishes of these benevolent men been frustrated by the existence of a bond, given to Mr. Thomas Braidwood, by which the instructer of the asylum, Mr. Robert Kinniburgh, was bound not to communicate the art of teaching deaf-mutes to any person intending to practise it, during a period of seven years, four of which had not yet expired. Mr. Kinniburgh was originally instructed by Mr. Braidwood, who required such a bond, as a part of the terms on which he would communicate a knowledge of his art.

Mr. Gallaudet was, for some time, in correspondence with Mr. Braidwood, to induce him to release Kinniburgh from the obligation of the bond; but he would on no account consent to do it.

On the ninth of March 1816, Mr. Gallaudet arrived in Paris, and meeting with a very cordial reception from the Abbé Sicard, soon began to attend the regular classes of instruction in the Royal Institution for the deaf and dumb, over which this venerable man presides. Besides these opportunities of improvement, Mr.

Gallaudet received a few private lessons from the Abbé himself, and a daily course also in their chambers from Messrs. Massieu & Clerc, the latter of whom was then the instructer of the first class of pupils in the institution.

On the twenty seventh of May, the Abbé Sicard gave his consent to an arrangement, formed between Mr. Gallaudet and Mr. Clerc, which has issued in introducing into our country a science, hitherto unknown among us, the practical utility of which is now placed beyond the reach of doubt, by the effect it has produced, within the space of one year, upon those few pupils, who have begun to participate of its benefits, and still more conspicuously by the illustrious example of Mr. Clerc, whose visit to this country would most abundantly have aided the cause of sound philosophy and of christian benevolence, had it done nothing more than to have satisfied the incredulous, (and many such there have been,) that *it is possible* to convey to the understanding of a person totally deaf and dumb, and born so, all intellectual, moral and religious truth, and all the arts and sciences, (excepting those of musick, poetry and oratory, so far as they are addressed to the organs of hearing,) with which the rest of mankind are acquainted.

In May 1816, the legislature of Connecticut passed an act, incorporating 'The Connecticut Asylum, for the education and instruction of deaf and dumb persons.'

Mr. Gallaudet and Mr. Clerc arrived in Hartford in August 1816, and soon after visited some of our large cities for the purpose of soliciting funds for the establishment; the result of their efforts appears in the report of the asylum, published in June last. In October 1816, the legislature of Connecticut made a grant of five thousand dollars to the asylum, to be appropriated to the support and education of indigent deaf and dumb persons within the state.

The establishment was opened on the fifteenth of April 1817, when the course of lessons began under the direction of Mr. Gallaudet and Mr. Clerc. In December last, Mr William C. Woodbridge, late a student in divinity in the theological seminary in Princeton, New Jersey, became an assistant instructer in the asylum, which now contains thirty one pupils, sixteen males and fifteen females;—among the former, one is fifty one years of age, two of twenty seven, one of twenty six, two of twenty four, two of twenty one, one of seventeen, one of fourteen, two of thirteen, three of eleven, and one of ten; among the latter, one is forty one years of age, one of thirty two, one of thirty, one of twenty seven, one of twenty five, one of twenty four, one of twenty two, one of twenty one, two of twenty, one of nineteen, one of seventeen, one of fourteen, one of twelve, and one of ten.

The regulations of the asylum at present forbid the admission of any pupils under nine or above thirty years of age, and none are received for a shorter period of time than two years.

An accession of twenty new pupils and two additional teachers is expected in May next.

The friends of the institution think it would be easy to satisfy the minds of candid men, that *one institution*, liberally endowed and possessing a competent number of instructers, (which it is found very difficult to procure,) may be placed, in the course of a few years, upon a foundation ample enough to meet all the wants of this section of the union. Admitting that there are at present six hundred deaf and dumb persons in the New England states, it must be considered that a great proportion of these are yet in infancy, that many are old and infirm, that some would be prevented from joining such an establishment by the peculiar circumstances of their situation in life, and that the friends of not a few, (for this is actually found to be the fact,) are yet waiting to see the result of what they still deem a mere *experiment* in this novel and arduous department of education. So that, it is much to be doubted, whether, for many years to come, out of the whole population of deaf and dumb persons in the New England states, more than two hundred would solicit admission into the establishment, were it even at once to be placed by publick or private bounty upon the most liberal footing. In contemplating this subject, there is a mistake into which not a few intelligent persons have fallen. Six hundred deaf and dumb persons, at first view, seem to furnish pupils enough for several respectable establishments; but these six hundred constitute more than one generation of the deaf and dumb. They have been accumulating for half a century The object of *their* instruction once fairly accomplished, (which, from what has above been said, it would not be difficult to do, in the course of a few years, in an establishment capable of containing two hundred pupils,) and the most arduous part of this work of charity would be forever done.—Afterwards, only the *annual* increase of the deaf and dumb would demand instruction, and this probably would not exceed, upon the largest estimate, thirty or forty persons in the New England states. Doubtless, however, there would always be an accession of pupils from other states in the union, sufficient to justify the expense of now laying the foundation of an establishment, ample enough to accommodate two or three hundred persons. Would it not, then, be a wise policy, that the efforts of an enlightened publick, either through the medium of legislative aid or private munificence, should be concentrated upon one institution for the deaf and dumb. In this way, the actual expense of providing instruction for this interesting portion of our fellow beings would be less than by rearing up several establishments; and it might easily be proved, that a tax, so insignificant that it would hardly be felt, imposed by the legislatures of the respective states, would be amply sufficient for the accomplishment of this undertaking, for the completion of which, not only the gentle intreaty of christian benevolence, but the sterner voice of justice pleads. New England lavishes her publick bounty upon her colleges, academies and schools. It is her glory and her strength, that the streams of useful learning run through her obscurest villages and reach her humblest cottages.—The parents of the deaf and dumb, nay, in many instances, the deaf and dumb themselves, have for years been obliged to contribute, from their own private sources, to supply the great fountain from which these blessings of human and divine knowledge flow; and all around them have drunk deeply of its thousand springs.

It is the hand of justice, then, rather than of benevolence, which should extend to their thirsty souls, the simple cup of refreshment, which they so earnestly crave.

Letter from Mr. Laurent Clerc to the Rev. Mr. Wainwright.

In compliance with the Rev. Mr. Wainwright's request, I send him not an elaborate account of our system of instruction;—for I do not yet think it prudent to publish such an one,—but a hasty sketch of what M. the Abbé Sicard did, while teaching me. By reading this, Mr. Wainwright may pretty well judge how we now teach the American deaf and dumb. The sight of all the objects of nature, which could be placed before the eyes of the deaf and dumb, the representation of these objects, either by drawing, by painting, by sculpture, or by the natural signs, which the deaf and dumb employ, or invent themselves, or understand with an equal facility; the expression of the will and passions, by the mere movement of the features, combined with the attitude and gestures of the body; writing traced, or printed, or expressed by conventional signs for each letter, or even simply figured in the air,—offered to M. Sicard many means of instructing those unfortunate beings, to whom he had resolved to devote his life. He afterwards discovered, by his own experience, that it was possible to make the deaf and dumb speak by the imitation of the movement of the organs of speech, a movement which the eye alone enabled them to conceive and transmit to their understanding. He saw that they could thus comprehend and express the accents of words, which they did not understand; but this artificial speech, not being susceptible among the deaf and dumb of complete improvement, nor of modification and regulation, by the sense of hearing, is almost always very *painful*, *harsh*, *discordant* and *comparatively useless.* It has neither the rapidity nor the expressiveness of signs, nor the precision of writing. This artificial part of the instruction of the deaf and dumb, therefore, appeared to him very limited and of little advantage.

M. Sicard's first steps, and even the difficulties presented to him by his pupils, made him soon feel the necessity of proceeding according to the strictest method, and of fixing their ideas, as well as the knowledge they were progressively acquiring, permanently in their memory; so that what they already knew might have an immediate connexion with what they were to learn;—his pupils, being unable to comprehend him, if the instruction, which he wished to give them, did not coincide with that which they had received before. For thus they stopped his progress, and he could not accomplish his purpose, but by resuming the chain of their ideas, and constantly following the uninterrupted line from the *known* to the *unknown*. It was thus that he succeeded in making them comprehend the spoken and written language, in which he instructed them. This natural method is applicable to all languages. It proceeds by the surest and shortest way, and may be applied to all the channels of communication between one man and another.

It is by this method that M. Sicard has brought the deaf and dumb to the knowledge of all the kinds of words, of which a language is composed, of all the modifications of those words, of their variations and different senses; in short, of all their reciprocal influence.

In this manner, the nouns become, to the deaf and dumb, the signs of all the objects of nature; words which indicate qualities become the signs of the accidents, variations and modifications, which they perceive in objects. M. Sicard has made them comprehend that qualities may be conceived of as detached from the object; whereby the adjective is far better defined than in the grammars written for youth, and by which means also he has so very rapidly led them to the science of abstraction. Besides, M. Sicard has made them conceive that the qualities, which in their eyes appeared inherent in the objects, could be detached from them by thought; but then it was necessary to unite them to objects, and they themselves pointed out the necessity of the junction by a *line*. M. Sicard has taught them, that in all languages, this line is translated by a word affirming existence; in French by the verb *etre*, in English by the verb *to be*. Hat—black, or hat *is* black, have equally represented to their minds the object existing in conjunction with its quality, or the quality inherent to the object.

M. Sicard has thus made them understand the nature of the verb; and,—by making them afterwards comprehend that the verb could express either existence or an action *present*, *past* or *future*,—he has led them to the system of conjugation, and to all the shades of *past* and *future*, adopted in all the various languages, written or spoken;—an admirable system, in which the influence of the genius and of the thoughts of all ages is perceptible.

It is to this system, which embraces all possible combinations, and which unites all thoughts, that the language of the deaf and dumb accommodates itself with wonderful facility. The proofs of this assertion given by M Sicard's pupils must astonish even the best informed men.

By the same method of proceeding from the *known* to the *unknown*, he has subsequently brought to the perception of his pupils the characters, use and influence of all the other words which, as parts of speech, unite, modify and determine the sense of the *noun*, *verb* and the *adjective*.

It is thus that, at length, M. Sicard has led his pupils to analyse with facility the simplest propositions, as well as the most complicated phrases and sentences, by a system of figures which, —by always distinguishing the name of the object, which is either *acting* or *receiving the effect of an action*, the verb and its government *direct*, *indirect* or *circumstantial*,—embraces and completely displays all the parts of speech. The use of this method, when generally adopted, will simplify the rules of grammar in all languages, and facilitate, more than any other method, the understanding and translating both of modern and ancient languages.

This is the way by which M. Sicard has initiated his pupils into the knowledge of all the rules of universal grammar, applicable to the primitive expression of signs, as well as to all spoken and written languages. But names do not only express physical objects;—there are some which represent abstract objects. *Whiteness*, *greatness*, *heat*, *beauty*, and many other words do not express objects existing individually in nature, but ideas of qualities common to several objects,—qualities which we consider as detached from the objects to which they belong, and of which we make an *intellectual substance*, *created by the mind*. As soon as M. Sicard taught the deaf and dumb to comprehend that the *will*, which determines our senses and our thoughts, is not the action of a physical being which can be seen and taught, he gave them a consciousness of their *soul*, and made them fit for society and for happiness.—The affecting expression of their gratitude proves the extent of that benefit.

He advanced a step further, and the access of the highest conceptions of the human mind was opened to them. M. Sicard has found it easy to make them pass from abstract ideas to the most sublime truths of religion. They have felt that this *soul*, of which they have the consciousness, is not a fictitious existence, is not an abstract existence created by the mind; but a real existence which wills, and which produces movement, which sees, which thinks, which reflects, which compares, which meditates, which remembers, which foresees, which believes, which doubts, which hopes, which hates, &c.

After this, directing their thoughts towards all the physical existences submitted to their view through the immensity of space, or on the globe which we inhabit; the regularity of the march of the sun and all the celestial bodies, the constant succession of day and night, the return of the seasons, the life, the riches and the beauty of nature; he made them feel that nature also had a soul, of which the power, the action and the immensity extends through every thing existing in the universe; a soul which creates all, inspires all, and preserves all.

Filled with these great ideas, the deaf and dumb have prostrated themselves on the earth, along with M. Sicard himself, and he has told them that this soul of nature is that God whom all men are called upon to worship, to whom our temples are raised, and with whom our religious doctrines and ceremonies connect us from the cradle to the grave.

All was now done ;—and M. Sicard found himself able to open his pupils all the sublime ideas of religion and all the laws of virtue and of morals.

Mr. Wainwright will see, by these particulars, what M. Sicard has achieved for his pupils. Their replies to the questions which have been proposed to them in France, sufficiently prove that they have run the career which I have above delineated.

This career is that which a man, gifted with all his senses, and who is to be instructed, ought alike to run. The arts and sciences belong to the class of physical or intellectual objects ; and the deaf and dumb, like men gifted with all their senses, may penetrate them according to the degree of intelligence which nature has granted them, as soon as they have reached the degree of instruction, which M. Sicard's system of teaching embraces and affords.

Now, if Mr. Wainwright will take the pains of reflecting ever so little upon the excessive difficulties, which this mode of instruction presents without cessation, he will not believe, as many people in this country do, that a few years are sufficient in order that a deaf and dumb person may be restored to society, and so acquainted with religion as to partake of it with benefit, and to render an account to himself of the reasons of his faith. Mr. Wainwright will notice that the language of any people cannot be the mother tongue of the deaf and dumb born amidst these people. Every spoken language is necessarily a learned language for these unfortunate beings. The English language must be taught to the deaf and dumb, as the Greek and Latin are taught in the colleges to the young Americans who attend the classes of this kind. Now, will Mr. Wainwright give himself the trouble of interrogating the professors of the colleges, and asking them the time required to put a pupil in a state to understand fully the Greek and Latin authors, and to write their thoughts in either of these languages, so as to make them understood by those who would speak these languages,—then he will agree with me, that the Greek or Latin would not be more difficult to be taught to the deaf and dumb than the English; and yet to teach the Greek and Latin in colleges, the professors and pupils have, for a means of comparison, a language at hand, an acquired language, a mother tongue, which is the English language, in which they have learned to think; whereas the unfortunate deaf and dumb, in order to learn English, have not any language with which to compare it, nor any language in which they may have had the habit of thinking. These unfortunate have, for their native language, but a few gestures to express their usual wants and most familiar actions of life. M. the Abbé Del' Epée demanded for the education of a deaf and dumb, ten years of constant labour; and yet, after this labour of ten years, none of his pupils had as yet attained the highest degree of perfection. Will this prove that ten years of study will be required, in order that the American deaf and dumb entrusted to our care, may finish their course of instruction? No, sir;—for then what would be the benefit of the perfection which M. Sicard has given to his method, and with whose system we are acquainted?

I have the pleasure to inform Mr. Wainwright that the deaf and dumb of this country have very good natural talents, and a great facility and unusual ardour in learning, and an intensity of application which we have rather to moderate than to excite. The time, which M. Sicard's illustrious predecessor thought necessary, will not then be required by us. From five to seven years only is the time we wish they may pass with us, (especially if they come to the asylum young,) that they may truely improve in all useful knowledge, after so hard and so painful a course of study, and that their teachers may see with satisfaction that they have not sowed on the sand.

LAURENT CLERC.

Judge Tilghman's and Dr. Caldwell's Eulogies on Dr. Caspar Wistar, late President of the American Philosophical Society and Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania.

THESE eulogies contain sketches of the life and character of Dr. Wistar, late Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. Few panegyrists have been allowed a more grateful task. Their principal toil has been to ascertain and state facts. Theirs was not the labour to show why Dr. Wistar was one of the greatest and most venerated physicians in his own state, and deserving a similar estimation throughout the country.

There was a simplicity in this character, which a child might have read, and have loved. There was a directness in his actions, which allowed no man to hesitate as to the nature of his motives. There was too much of good, publick and private, in what he did, to permit any one to seek for improper motives for his conduct.

His country, his profession, the poor and the rich, his publick station, the promotion of science, his religion,—every relation, which he felt to things around him,—found a deep place in his heart, and he seemed to live to cherish and strengthen a principle, whose constant operation made him the happiest and best of men.

These eulogies are the genuine tribute of publick and individual veneration and love. The talent they display would give them a sufficient claim to the notice of those, who are interested in the literature of their country. Their value is enhanced by the consideration that they give us the high estimation, in which their object was held by men out of his own profession, as well as by his professional brethren. They contain a simple and unaffected record of a life which had in it what we should love, and venerate. They bring before us a man, whom elevation never made vain, and whom the splendid emoluments of perpetual and successful toil could never enslave. These eulogies point out the various relations Dr. Wistar sustained, but they all discover in him, the same unaffected greatness, the same purity of intention, the same unabated zeal in the cause of science and humanity. We hardly know which most to admire in this character; whether we contemplate its pure benevolence, or the simple dignity, which profound learning shed over it. We have traced it with deep interest, as it is unfolded in these discourses, and find in it that perfect balance between benevolent dispositions, active goodness, and intellectual ardor and cultivation, which constitutes the highest style of man.

The great and leading trait in Dr. Wistar's character was benevolence. He continued to practise a laborious profession, when its emoluments had lost their attraction. When bodily infirmity imperiously called on him to narrow the sphere of his labours, he only lamented that his usefulness would be diminished. He had inexhaustible resources in his own highly cultivated mind, but there was to him a joy in doing good, which no retired or abstract pleasure could supply. From these eulogies we learn, how rich, in this instance, was the reward of active benevolence. Perhaps no man was ever more beloved, no man ever possessed a wider influence, no man ever challenged a more perfect confidence. This benevolence was not only discoverable in his devotedness to his patients,—it was the same spirit, that made his house the welcome resort of the stranger, and the friend ; it was to give this spirit wider exercise, that he never ceased from laborious study Works of mere taste, however, and especially works of fiction, he rarely read. Life seemed to him too short to be wasted : and knowledge, which could not be applied to some beneficial purposes, seemed hardly worth acquiring.

Dr. Wistar was peculiar for the high veneration, with which he regarded his profession. In the discharge of its practical duties, his ruling principle shone preeminently bright,—men lost to him then the arbitrary distinctions of society. Sufferers constituted but one class, one species. Individual misery was a claim, which he never failed to recognise.—It was not, however, in a conscientious discharge of its duties, merely, that his profound respect for his profession was discoverable. He possessed an abstract sentiment of veneration for his favourite science. He loved it for its own sake. It was to him a dignified and noble science, with high purposes for its objects. A moral and intellectual character was thus diffused over its practical details ; and what with most men is mere routine, had with him an intimate union with mind. This sentiment led directly to a strong application of his powers to every collateral study, which might tend to enlighten the obscure parts of his profession, strengthen his regard for it, and render both it and himself more extensively useful. We turn from these more general views, to consider some particular points of character in which Dr. Wistar excelled. There are three, which present themselves to us as very striking,—and in these relations it is our happiness to say, that we have personally known him,—as a companion, as a hospital surgeon, and as a publick teacher. When we speak of Dr. Wistar as a companion, we speak of his colloquial powers and disposition, as they were manifested to his visitors. These can be perfectly understood only by those who have been acquainted with him. They owed much of their power to simple expression. When he spoke, his face became at once animated and open. His features received impressions readily from his mind ; and when he listened, one might perceive, in his varying countenance, the effect of the remarks that were made, and gather the tone of his replies. There was, in short, something colloquial in the simple expressions of his countenance. His address was not elegant, and we are not willing to call it awkward. It was the genuine manner of a man, whose mind was habitually absorbed, and whose occasional relaxations had not allowed him time for acquiring elegance. In him, the purposes of conversation were fully answered. Something interesting was always to be learnt. He became early acquainted with useful discoveries in the sciences and arts, and he took a pleasure in communicating them. Yet he never engrossed conversation. He looked to his visitors for information and pleasure, and understood, admirably well, the art of eliciting from every mind, with which he came in contact, what might interest himself and others.

As a surgeon of the hospital of Pennsylvania, Dr. Wistar aimed to accomplish two highly important objects.—to cure disease, and convey instruction. What has already been considered as the leading trait in his character was in this relation peculiarly conspicuous. It was a field, in which a benevolent spirit might exert its widest and purest influences. Here were strangers, who might die, and be at once forgotten ; or recover, and hardly know the being, whose deep interest, and successful exertions, had been among the means of their recovery. These unknown men, however, became at once intimately allied to Dr. Wistar. Their claims were laid in their distresses. The union became closer, in proportion to the increase of suffering; and no one, who has seen him at the bed side of one of these patients, in whom signs of recovery at last began to appear, but could read in his animated, happy countenance, from how heavy a weight of anxiety and oppression his heart was recovering. This would not have been particularly noticed,—for we know that sympathy, under these circumstances, is not uncommon. In Dr. Wistar, however, the degree in which it existed was unusual. It is, we think, but rarely found, that habit does not enable men to resist the *expression* of feeling, whether of sorrow or joy. It certainly never did in him, and thus a medical student and a hospital patient were the witnesses of feeling, as well as of skill, and felt a relation to him, on these accounts, which few men, in similar situations, are anxious to have established.

Dr. Wistar never lost an opportunity of imparting useful instruction to the hospital pupils. This was done by minute examinations of the patients, while the class was present, and by interesting remarks on individual cases. He insensibly led the student to habits of deliberate inquiry and reflection, by the happy illustration he offered of the practice in himself. In his manner towards the patients of this admirable charity, he gave a most valuable lesson of conduct to the young. If a student saw any thing but misery in corporeal distress, or acknowledged any other sentiment than a desire to relieve it,—especially if he ever viewed it as ludicrous, or treated it as such,—Dr. Wistar never failed to notice and correct, at the moment, so gross a misconception.

It remains to speak of Dr. Wistar as a publick teacher. In this relation, he appeared in all the fulness of his intellectual powers. He brought to the anatomical theatre, his deep and various learning, his habitual feelings, and even something of his colloquial vivacity. Although he was strikingly fluent, and truly learned, still there was something in his eloquence peculiarly his own. Not that he was lofty in his manner and imposing by his voice,—for he was neither. His was the eloquence of sentiment, rather than of manner, and his persuasiveness owed almost as much to his disposition, as to the great importance of the truths which he unfolded. The dignity, which attached to him, had a common source with his eloquence. It was not perceived at once. It was necessary to know something of his character and heart, as well as of the richness of his mind, in order to understand the elevation to which he had attained. In his publick instructions, Dr. Wistar surrendered himself entirely to his hearers, and freely, though unconsciously, displayed to them his intellectual peculiarities, and his whole character. He commenced his lecture with a recapitulation of the preceding one. This was done by questions to the class. The effect of this, on the student's mind, was to connect intimately the instruction already given, with that which he was about to receive. The lecturer then turned, with unembarrassed readiness, to the subject before him. An unrivalled fluency and simplicity attended him through every step of the demonstration, however complicated, and he knew, of all men we have ever heard, the best how to be interesting, and at the same time rigorously minute. A broad and clear light shone steadily around him. He seemed to have identified anatomy with his common thoughts; and the language, in which he expressed himself on this subject, seemed like the appropriate expressions of his familiar conversation. Towards the close of the lecture, when the business of demonstration was done, he deserted, for a while, the office of teaching forms, structures and arrangements, and entered the more intellectual department of his science, which teaches the uses or functions of organs. He entered this path, as if it had not been a new one. The digression was so easy, so natural, that his hearers unreluctantly followed him. They felt that they were to be instructed and delighted, with all that he might discover to them. In this part of his lecture, his mind had its full play. Its great business was, to collect and arrange what others had taught, and to interweave, among his luminous generalizations, the results of his own inquries. In doing this, he gave a brilliancy to the experimental truths of physiology, which made them apparent to every one. His felicities of expression made them attractive and even beautiful. It was a brilliancy, however, that did not dazzle, for it was a quality, which owed its existence, as much to the consciousness of the hearer as to the clear conceptions and peculiar language of the professor.

We have thus attempted a delineation of the character of Dr. Wistar. We have spoken of him as he has ever appeared to us. For more particular details of his life, we must refer to the eulogies, which have allowed us this opportunity of offering a tribute of respect to distinguished greatness. We regret that our limits do not allow us to make extracts from these eulogies. We were deeply impressed with the elevated moral tone which is every where shed over that of Chief Justice Tilghman. It is also rich in facts. We freely express our obligations to Dr. Caldwell, for his accurate delineations, and the characteristick anecdotes which he records. We have spoken of the tendencies and effects of Dr. Wistar's character and conduct, in various relations. It should not be omitted, that he contributed largely to establishing the reputation of the most celebrated medical school in our country.

There is something salutary in the contemplation of such a man, and such a mind. It is true, there is a height in so much excellence, to which we may never attain. But it is not too elevated to be seen. It is not a sudden steep, every step of which must be gained by labour, and which few only have surmounted. We rise by an ascent so gentle, and so much that we love is on every side, that our strength is increased rather than exhausted. We are invited by such a mind, to be its companion and friend, and are taught by it, that we may be both, if we have found our highest pleasure in honourable and important labours for the publick, and in a beneficence, which has its limits only in our power of doing good.

The following brief notices of some of our artists in Europe and of their recent works, may interest some of our readers.

Extract of a letter from London, January 25, 1818.

'Mr. West's great picture of *Death on the pale Horse* is now exhibiting. It has some very grand parts; he told me he thought it his happiest effort.—Mr. Allston has painted a charming picture of *Uriel in the Sun*; it is a gigantick figure sitting, and full of beauty and expression. He sent it to be exhibited at the gallery of the Institution, when the directors thereof, with an eagerness as honourable to their taste as it was flattering to the painter, bought it the moment it was presented, declaring it to be the best thing that had been produced since the days of the Caracci. He has also painted a very fine landscape lately, the subject, *Elijah in the Desert.* Mr. Allston intends going to Boston in the spring to finish his great picture of *Belshazzar.* It must be needless to inform you, how much my esteem and admiration for the talents of this gentleman, are accompanied by a regard for the goodness of his character. I am indebted both to him and Mr. Leslie for the most friendly attentions.'

We have received accounts from a correspondent in Italy, of the success of Mr. Stewart Newton, of Boston, and they are very flattering, if we consider the short time he was at the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, during the last year. A portrait, which he painted of himself, first brought him into notice, and was viewed with admiration at the exhibition. It was sent for by Benvenuti, the President of the Academy, and commended by him in very flattering terms. Newton was employed afterwards to take the portraits of several dsitinguished personages, and gave the highest satisfaction. The style of his colouring, in particular, was new to the Italians, and thought by them to be very fine. He has since, we have been informed, gone to London.

The only American now in the Academy is Mr. William Main, of New York, who is devoting himself with great enthusiasm to the art of engraving. Morghen, the most distinguished engraver in the world, is at the head of this department in the Academy. Under his directions, Main is said to be making very rapid progress in his favourite art, and seems in a fair way to arrive at eminence in the higher branches of engraving, and do credit to his country.

Italian Academy of the Arts, Sciences and Literature.—Two volumes of the transactions of this society were published in 1810, entitled *Atti dell' Academia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti.* We have seen only these two volumes, and we believe no other has since been published;—from what cause, we have not been able to learn. This Academy seems to be instituted on a very large scale, and to embrace almost every branch of knowledge. The first volume before us contains the constitution, and a list of the members' names. The objects of the society are divided into four classes, as follows;—

The First class comprises moral philosophy; political history and legislation; political economy, statisticks, and politicks.

Second class—Mathematicks, pure and mixed; physicks, chemistry, natural history, and agriculture; medicine, surgery, and anatomy.

Third class—Philology and grammar; eloquence and poetry; history, travels, antiquities.

Fourth class—Theory and history of the fine arts; liberal arts, and the mechanick arts; musick. Each class has three sections, and the members are chosen not only into a particular class, but into a particular section. The officers are a president, vice president, a secretary for the whole society, a secretary for each class, a biographer, and a college of twelve seniors.

New Excavation in Pompeii.—A large forum has lately been uncovered in Pompeii, surrounded by Dorick columns of granite, with pedestals inscribed with names, but without statues. This is thought to be some confirmation of the opinion, that the inhabitants removed their valuable effects, before the destruction of the city, or that they recovered them afterwards by digging. By the side of this forum a temple of Venus has likewise been uncovered, and also another temple adjoining it. In the temple of Venus were found a bronze statue of that Goddess, several marble statues of consuls, and of other personages. These edifices seem to have been far more elegant, than any of those before brought to light, and doubtless occupied the most magnificent part of the city, being three publick buildings in the immediate vicinity of a large edifice dug out a few years ago.

Professor Silliman's Journal of the Sciences, &c.—We have seen the prospectus of an intended publication, to be entitled the *American Scientific Journal.*—This work is to be conducted by Professor Silliman of Yale College; aided by gentlemen of science and eminence in various parts of the United States. It is to be published by James Eastburn & Co. New York, and H. Howe, New Haven. The objects of this Journal are the Physical sciences and their application to the arts. It will embrace natural history in its three departments of mineralogy, botany and zoology, chemistry, and natural philosophy, and mathematicks, pure and mixed. The applications of these sciences are as extensive as the various interests of society, and will constitute a very valuable part of this work. 'It will be a leading object in this Journal, to illustrate American Natural History, and especially our Mineralogy, and Geology.'

The editor of this work has been long known to the publick as a learned and accomplished teacher of chemistry. In his extensive laboratory, and the splendid collection of minerals, deposited in Yale College, by Colonel Gibbs, he has possessed ample means for acquiring profound knowledge in two very important sciences, chemistry and mineralogy. His zeal and success in these pursuits are well known.

We cordially unite with the publishers in their recommendation of the interests of science and the arts to the patronage of the intelligent publick of America.

Dr. Gorham's Elements of Chemistry.—We understand that John Gorham, M. D. Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University, will soon publish *Elements of Chemical Science,* in 2 vols. 8vo. with plates.

New Hebrew Lexicon.—Proposals have recently been issued by Mr. J. W. Gibbs, late a Tutor at Yale College, for publishing a translation of Gesenius' Hebrew-German Lexicon. It appears that this work, besides its great critical value, has a decided superiority over other Hebrew Lexicons, in its arrangement; and is calculated greatly to facilitate the labour of the student, in acquiring the original language of the Old Testament. It has the fullest recommendations from Rev. Professor Stuart of the Theological Institution at Andover, and from Professor Willard of Harvard University. And they agree in their opinion of the entire style of his colouring, in particular, was new to the Italians, and thought by them to be very fine. He has since, we have been informed, gone to London.

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Aug. 28, 1817. By William Crafts Jun. Esq. 3d Edition. George-town. (D. C.)

Miscellaneous.

The New Masonic Monitor, or Masonic Guide. By James Hardy A. M. Albany.

The Lay Preacher. By Joseph Dennie. Collected and arranged by J. E. Hall. Philadelphia.

The Resources of the United States of America, or a View of the Agricultural, Commercial, Manufacturing, Financial, Political, Literary, Moral and Religious capacity and character of the American People. By John Bristed, author of the Resources of the British Empire, 8vo. $3. New York.

The True Policy of the United States respecting the Spanish Colonies. 12½ cents. Washington.

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. 4to. vol. i. of a New Series. $5. Philadelphia.

Transactions of the Medical Society of the state of New York. together with the Address. By John Stearns M. D. President of the society. 12½ cents. New York.

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Abstract of meteorological observations, taken at Cambridge for February and March. By Professor Farrar.

		Barometer.			Thermometer.		
		7 A. M.	2 P. M.	9 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	9 P. M.
February	G.	30.57	30.58	30.54	34°	51°	33°
	M.	30.078	30.053	30.052	11.21	23.15	17.00
	L	29.12	29.37	29.58.	—11	3	—3
March	G.	30 64	30.68	30.69	38	67	48
	M.	30.172	30.182	30.166	27.8	40.2	29.9
	L.	29.42	29.65	29 60.	12	18	11

Whole quantity of rain, and snow reduced to water, for Feb. 1.24
Ditto. for March 1.96

Abstract of meteorological observations, taken at Brunswick. By Professor Cleaveland.

February, 1818.

Mean temp. deduced from three observations each day 17.35°
Greatest heat - - - - - - - 54.00
Greatest cold - - - - - - - —17.00
Mean height of the Barometer 29.786 in.
Greatest monthly range of do. 1.000
Rain and snow reduced to water 1.710
Days entirely or chiefly fair 14
Directions of the winds, viz. S. W. 13—N. W. 12.— N. 5.—N. E. 5.—E. 3.—W. 2.
Predominant form of the clouds, *cirro-stratus.*

March, 1818.

Meam temp. deduced from three observations each day 35.56°
Greatest heat - - - - - - - 63.50
Greatest cold - - - - - - - —1.50
Mean height of the Barometer 29.984 in.
Greatest monthly range of do. 1.060
Rain and snow reduced to water 3.700
Days entirely or chiefly fair 22
Directions of the winds, viz. S. W. 19.—N. W. 13.—N. E. 7.—S. E. 2.—N. 2. E. 2.—S. 1
Predominant forms of the clouds, *cirrus and cumulus.*

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

No. XX.

JULY, 1818.

Art. VII.—*Rob Roy, by the author of Waverley, Guy Mannering, and The Antiquary.* 2 vols. 12mo. New York, James Eastburn & Co. 1818.

It is not possible that the fame or attraction of these writings should be increased, by fixing them upon any living author,—there is no living author, who would not add to his celebrity by owning them. If the writer, however, chooses to hide himself and 'feed unenvied' upon his glory, it is his own affair—we wish for his name, merely that we may refer to him more conveniently.

Some of his tales are admirable histories of Scotland, all of them lie chiefly there, and most of the characters are natives. His own country is the home and school of his genius—it is familiar to him, and thus, as the scene of his stories, it gives them an air of easy reality. He found it a new and unexhausted country in fiction, at least for his purposes; on all sides there was a boundless variety and striking distinctness in the face of the earth, the modes of life and the character of man, and just such a union of the chivalrous and wild with the later habits of a busier and more worldly race, as would enable him to be at once a poet and a practical, philosophical observer.

We have here his fifth tale, founded upon Scottish character, manners, antiquities and scenery. Like the others, it is supported in some measure by fact, and all are faithful sketches of society and nature at different periods. They have the truth, without the formality and limitations of history, for men here are grouped and at work, very much as they are in life; society never stands still and is never lost sight of, that battles may be fought or great men display themselves,—the anvil is ringing, as well that the poor traveller's beast may not go unshod, as that the soldier may be equipped, who is to fight for a realm.—It was said anciently of the Greek tragedies, that they were wholly 'of kings and princes, of rich or ambitious personages;—you never see a poor man have a part, unless it be as a chorus, or to fill up the scenes, to dance or to be derided.' There is a livelier and juster diversity in the views of things presented here. We are not kept forever upon the high grounds of life, and oppressed with the solemn air and motion, the perpetual stateliness of leading characters. There are cottages and workshops on the slopes and in the vallies, and beings in sight there, who are the secret strength and life of society,—the unobtrusive, poor and labouring have a place here, as important as that which they fill in the real world. And besides this natural mixture and diversity of classes, each individual is suffered to lay open his whole mind; there is no attempt to give an artificial unity and condensation to the character, by placing him under one set of influences only, and thus forcing him to exhibit the workings of a single feeling, and all for the sake of producing a violent effect on us. He is here allowed to be affected naturally by every thing he encounters in the common course of things; and the principle, that gives the character its form in one place, may change it a little with the change of circumstances.

The author seems to be at home every where, and know every thing. His knowledge, however, has not the air of learning, amassed to be told; it is something gathered incidentally, whilst he was studying men in their pursuits, customs and amusements,—something fallen in with rather than sought. The commonest things, the lowest characters belong to the action,—it rarely stands still for the sake of description. You are in the midst of life, gaining knowledge as well as entertainment, by a process akin to actual experience and observation. Every man is in his proper situation, and suitable discourse is put into his mouth,—we have the peculiarities of his gait, the expression of his face, the tone of his voice, every thing, in short, which is significant of character, or that adds to its reality;—and these are not given once for all in a formal description, but they come out in connexion with his feelings, situation or employment, and vary with them. He is allowed to unfold himself, to practise upon others, to utter fine thoughts or foolish ones, and betray all his infirmities and motives and every influence that presses on him, without the dread that he is destined for a book and therefore upon his good behaviour. The author is extremely generous to his characters. He is never afraid of them, or anxious to give you a full preparatory account of them, to excite your interest, or save you from mistakes. If a man has any individuality, he is sure to have fair play; and it is more than probable that you will at first be told, merely how he is regarded by people about him; and if you receive a wrong impression, you may correct it as you go along, just as you are set right in the living world. The profusion and huddle of characters and interests make no disturbance and jostling, which are not sufficiently balanced. It is but setting powers against each other, so as to keep up a perpetual agitation.

If we come to his descriptions of nature, we find there a presence, a visibility, that sets us in the midst of things. He unfolds the region about him freely and easily, as creation is revealed in the sunshine,—by a full and yet noiseless disclosure;—nothing is displaced; the forms and relations of objects are undisturbed, and the light, in which they rest, gives perfect harmony. The facility and vividness of his descriptions shew that his heart is open to beauty and truth, and that he conveys the simple impression he has received. He is abroad for his own exhilaration, and the healthful exercise of his mind in minute, distinguishing observation; and in all his pictures, there is a cordial exposure of beauty, reality, perfect life, as if the communication of his enjoyment made a part of it.

He does not always depend for the effect of his painting, upon the enumeration of particulars or a broad, complete presentment of things; but a great deal upon your interest in the action and characters that are introduced. He knows that the mind, once kindled, will throw light all around it. You feel an interest in the place by your interest in what is passing there—you perceive a union between the action and the scene, so that a hint, a word is enough to open the whole upon you—you are made happy by finishing the picture yourself, and in the process, you are visited by old recollections and associations, till the prospect grows as familiar as home. His most scattered and irregular description, coming in here and there in the midst of a wild and hurried narrative,—such as Waverley's night adventure on the heath, after his rescue,—has kept its hold on the memory, while others, more compact and finished, but less essential to the action, have faded. It may be well, some time after reading these works, when the excitement is gone, but the impression is unworn, to turn back to passages which interested us the most, and chiefly for description, and see how much their effect was owing to the excited state of the mind, to the watchful notice it took and the wide use it made of the smallest hints. We almost wonder on a second, cooler reading, that the effect should have been so powerful, and the scene so full and distinct.—And if we may judge from our own feelings, as distinct views are received from his light and rapid touches, some little intimations which make the mind busy in its own way, as from his more laboured pictures, which he sometimes draws as if for the mere pleasure they give him, and in looking at which we are obliged to follow him step by step, and observe the parts till we sometimes almost fail of a whole. He shews every where the greatest delicacy of feeling and observation, in the selection of some little picturesque circumstance, to suggest and illuminate every thing else, to provoke our imaginations to independent action and perception, and thus give a vivid reality to things. And we all know that trifles enter as largely into our poetical as our every-day happiness,—the imagination and affections attach themselves to the smallest things, and are carried by them into endless and ever-varying creations.

We may also remark his peculiar way of bringing us acquainted gradually with some new region, where we are to stay awhile. He conducts us, from time to time, as events may require, from one apartment to another or to new views of the same building, or to some unnoticed opening into the hills, or creek or cavern that lay hid in the windings of the shore. We feel the changes of season, and of day and night in their effect upon the prospect. The weary heath and moors sink us into 'endless reverie,' and our spirits are brisk as we come upon the heights. We carry from description like this, feelings that spring from beholding the world, rather than reading of it.

The author notices and preserves with perfect facility, all the connexions between the small and vast, the ludicrous and awful, the melancholy and thoughtless, which nature herself has ordained. And when he makes use of contrast,—and he certainly makes a most powerful one,—it is never or rarely brought in violently, but in the same easy way with the diversities and irregularities, that enter into and enliven the established order of the world. Sometimes,—when we are absorbed by a picturesque or dramatic scene, and our curiosity and anxiety are so balanced that we can hardly turn over the leaf,—we meet with characters of a very different complexion from all which has wrought upon us so powerfully; and they will be sure to enter at once into affairs in their own way, even at the risk of disturbing our rapture;—but we never imagine that they were brought there to produce the effect of forced contrast, of violent transition,—they are in their places and talk and act as they should, sustaining relations to every thing about them, and obeying influences which perhaps they never think of. This natural contrast is observed every where in some shape or other, giving at one time a refreshing, at others an oppressive distinctness to objects, or presenting them in various lights and connexions, always deepening the interest which it threatens to thwart or divert. We need not admonish any reader, that Edie's gamesomeness in the storm and Elspeth's pledge at the funeral, enter, more than words can well express, into the incommunicable feelings which both those scenes leave in the heart. No one, who remembers the maniac Balfour in his fearful retreat, has forgotten the little light-footed guide that conducted Henry Moreton thither 'in the grey of the morning.'

And tenderness too is brought in, in the same vivid way, softening the harsher features of characters and actions, shedding all around the most assuasive influence, and yet possessing dignity and power in the midst of hard-wrung tears and sad remembrances. It is as the morning mist that hangs thinly on the cliff, or as the hush, the pause in the tempest. When Meg is conducting Bertram and Dinmont to the cavern on the sea-shore, at the moment when the scattered interests of the story are all thronging together, and she feels that the uses of life are nearly ended with her, an air of decay, of decline,—without the least of imbecility,—seems to pass over the grandeur and stern irregularity of her mind. 'She moved up the brook, until she came to the ruined hamlet, where, pausing with a look of peculiar and softened interest before one of the gables which was still standing, she said in a tone less abrupt, though as solemn as before, "Do you see that blackened and broken end of a sheeling?—there my kettle boiled for forty years—there I bore twelve buirdly sons and daughters—where are they now ?—where are the leaves that were on that auld ash-tree at Martinmas ?—the west wind has made it bare, and I'm stripped too. Do you see that saugh tree ?—it's but a blackened rotten stump now—I've sate under it mony a bonny summer afternoon when it hung its gay garlands ower the poppling water. I've sate there, and," elevating her voice, "I've held you on my knee, Henry Bertram, and sung ye sangs of the old barons and their bloody wars. It will ne'er be green again, and Meg Merrillies will never sing blithe sangs mair."

We may call these works novels, or what we please,—they are after all nothing but views of the real world, given by a man who observes it widely, justly and feelingly, and passes by nothing however low, and shrinks from nothing however terrible, which God has placed here as a part of his system. The earth is large enough for the safe expansion and action of all minds however opposite, and he delights to contemplate the workings, and see the same principles struggling or playing freely in the various conditions of life, differently combined indeed and receiving different shades and modifications, according to the diversity of influences which help to make the character, and yet all betraying the universal alliance of man. With all the strangeness of his personages, the violence of the life he describes, and the local air of his sketches, his genius is still spread out over the earth,—'one touch of nature makes the whole world kin,'—hardly a feeling or motive is given, but we all own it, or a course of action detailed, but it has authority apart from its historical truth. It is the truth more than the marvellous, that affects us in his most fearful sketches of an erring mind, self-persuaded of its supernatural power, and acquiring, from this very conviction, an energy and overawing influence which help it in some degree to fulfil the destinies it unrols. It is the same truth that touches us, when he presents the mysterious creations of 'the sleeping fancy,' and especially the whimsical forms that crowd upon the mind just as it dawns from sleep, and the senses are faintly affected by outward objects. In the same spirit is the description of the almost visionary returns of memory, 'the dreams of early and shadowy recollections,' which broke upon young Bertram, as he was walking unconsciously among the scenes of his infancy. The author is always teaching us a large philosophy in the midst of visible scenes and living beings.

The imagination is never straitened by the perpetual reality of things, nor does it lose itself in endless and vain illusions,—its excitement and adventures here are spontaneous and begin in truth, and have warmth, support and reach, yielding us always an untreacherous satisfaction, and the most wholesome practical influences. The earth is no longer a mere clod, of uneven surface, fertile mould and varied colour,—it acquires a new and moral interest by its power of carrying us to something higher, and leading us to connect all that we behold here with our own minds and with God.—The romantic and poetical, both in the human character and the world which helps to form it, are naturally blended,—no man will be made an idle visionary by the union between life and poetry in these works, for it is just such a union as is established by nature, and admirably fitted to open the whole mind and harmonize the character of such a being as man, with powers so various, but all given for his happiness and perfection, and naturally tending thither, and yet in danger of subjection to the lowest and most narrowing influences of this mixed world.

It was not to be expected that a writer should observe so minutely and justly, without investing objects with something of his own,—the imagination cannot be so busy, and the heart unmoved. But he does not visit the world with a diseased heart, and discolour its beauties, and turn them to false uses. 'His mind apprehends objects and occurrences in their reality, and yet communicates to them a tincture of its own colouring and tone.' And this is the way with all men who have sympathy with creation. He who observes and paints truly, must make his feelings, his delight a part of the picture, and there will be an exquisite accordance between what flows from himself and what he borrows from nature. And the reader of a kindred mind will trust more warmly in the truth of descriptions, which, besides presenting colour, situation and form, express distinctly his own secret though undefined feelings, in the prospect of like beauties, and thus interpret, as it were, his own heart.

With his love of the picturesque and romantic, the author unites a singular intimacy with men in the practical, common pursuits. There are very few economists or observers, who can talk more sagaciously of mere business and calculation, or send a young man into life with safer rules of conduct, or determine more accurately the influence of occupation, accident and every outward circumstance upon character and happiness. So far from disdaining our regular society, he is sometimes in the midst of us, perfectly familiar with citizens and affairs, and the tradeful stir and habits of the town. Only give him strong character, and the free expression of it,—and he will be sure to observe and make something of it, whether it be found in the city or mountains. But he feels, and with reason, that in populous settlements, every thing is under cultivation, and tending too much to assimilation and consequent lassitude. He is weary and impatient there,—he cannot tolerate the shifting, arbitrary fashions of artificial life, the formalities and observances, which shew the condition of society more than the elements of character, what is accidental rather than what is essential, the present and fleeting, not the universal and everlasting in man. When he talks of mere ladies and gentlemen, and makes them witty, or puts them in love, it is hard to say which is most to be pitied,—he or they. The amiable and generous feelings are seldom and but poorly delineated in the merely domestic, industrious and cultivated,—they are reserved for beings formed upon a larger scale and of rougher and harder materials ; and in them these qualities are certainly exhibited to greater advantage, partly from their relation to the rest of the character, and partly from their possessing an originality and distinctness, and expressing themselves with a fervour and reckless vehemence, which are not quite so observable in more educated virtue.

He does not carry us into the wilderness of life, merely because it is new and attractive,—he there finds man in harmony with the landscape, and at home, in the presence of objects that were about him in infancy, which have grown into his soul, and are now secretly incorporated with all he feels of pride and sorrow and happiness. ‘The heather that I have trod upon when living, must bloom ower me when I am dead—my heart would sink, and my arm would shrink and wither like fern in the frost, were I to lose sight of my native hills ; nor has the world a scene that would console me for the loss of the rocks and cairns, wild as they are, that you see around us.’ In such a region, we are put upon a fresh study of real, though it may be daring and impetuous character ; if we are moved violently, we are yet purified and invigorated, and rescued from utter slavery to the habits and tone of subdued society.

We hope no one will find fault with the author’s vagabond characters, for their presumption in exhibiting sentiments and actions wholly incompatible with their condition. We should be sorry to think that the humour, poetry, sagacity, high feeling and roguish propensities of the Beggar, were not the fair result of his way of life acting upon a neglected but gifted mind. The school of the world, we must remember, is free and generous, and has little system. It will indeed be sure to mould the character in some way or other,—but a man, who is wholly bare to its influences, will generally be formed by those which best suit his genius and natural tendencies; he will find enough on every side to expand and invigorate his whole mind, and the result, however unfit for a useful life, may be magnificent beyond all that teaching could effect.

The author has his faults,—he must needs illustrate in himself the mixture of imperfection which he observes in every thing about him. But we can say of him, and it will hold true of every man of genius, that his failures are not to be found where his mind is most kindled. So long as he is given up to his subject, he is sustained and unerring; but he fails, the very moment he begins to talk or trifle *confidentially* with the reader, or to display superfluously in himself the humour or drollery, which comes so admirably from his characters,—the very moment he forsakes invention and precipitates the story, by adopting the common artifices of relieving a hero, or lifting instead of attending him into new situations. But his failures often give us breathing time after excitement, and when he is ready, he falls into the natural course of things as easily as he deserted it.

Objections are made to the similarity that runs through all his works. Different persons resort perpetually to the same attitudes and motions, to shew their feelings to advantage, or to make their follies or infirmities more ludicrous. Majestic forms are placed again and again in the same commanding situations. Helen Campbell on the summit of the rock has no doubt brought to many a mind the Gipsey on the high bank that overhung the road, and the Gipsey perhaps has recalled the warriors on the turrets in the opening of Marmion. The situation is fine and never to be forgotten, especially in connexion with such beings,—and yet men, trees, steeples and chimnies may be seen almost every day, with the same advantage of light, effect of elevation and distinctness of outline.

But readers, who can perceive prominent resemblances, may not so readily detect minute discriminations, or probably we should not have heard quite so much about the sameness of his characters. He is not only rebuked for his attachment to gypsies, beggars, smugglers, &c. as Shakspeare will soon be for his clowns, constables, witches and grave-diggers,—(for the vulgar and vicious are to be outlaws in fiction, however privileged in life,) but, what is worse, his low characters are thrown together as copies of each other, and his offence of borrowing from himself is set down in the same easy way, in which Miss Burney has been reproved for her everlasting Mr. Dubster, Mrs. Mittin, and other small teasing creatures, which, because she had done well with them once, she thought proper to introduce forever after. It may be that Meg, Elspeth, Edie and Mause are one and the same person, with only a slight change in circumstances, and so of Callum Beg, Dougal and others. Our friend Dandie Dinmont, the shrewd, resolute, free hearted Borderer, may be of the same family with Cuddie Headrigg, that inimitable compound of good-nature, timidity, selfish cunning and utter worldliness ;—and the kindred will probably be extended now to Mr. Andrew Fairservice. And we know not what objection there is to following the same character into different situations, allowing that it is variously and brightly developed. But we have not perceived this offensive sameness in the characters,—some of those, which have been thus strangely huddled together, are so broadly and essentially different, that it was mortifying to see the comparison made ; and the rest appear to be as distinct and individual, as we should expect of men in similar pursuits and condition in life, where there is no attempt to give them exaggerated and even violent peculiarities, for the sake of effect. The great question is, are you willing to have such persons introduced ?—and if so, will you consent to observe nice shades of character in the vulgar and wicked, and can you relish romantic feeling and a highly poetical language in men and women who are little better, after all, than rogues ? If you are not disposed to do and enjoy this, you are merely narrowing your field of observation, and with it your pleasures, and no doubt your own minds too.—One word more of the supposed sameness in the author's low characters,—they all have a strong *nationality*, very different from our own, and with which we are but little acquainted. It may be then, that the traits which belong to all impress us so strongly, that we pay less attention to individual differences than we should do in our own country, where, as the *nationality* is shared by all and observed by none, the study of character is confined to individual peculiarities.

In Rob Roy, we are not so much struck with the want of freshness, as with the imperfect execution, if not conception.

In the other tales, there are great defects in the story, but there is little or no anxiety to interest you in it,—the present scene is enough, the characters have sufficiently strong motives for what they do; and so long as your attention is engrossed, and those in whom you are most interested are suitably disposed of, it is of very little importance that the events are sometimes clumsily woven together, and still less, whether the hero and his mistress are married at the end of the book or not. In fact, we would rather hear no more of them, than be called to witness the great stir at the close, merely to make people happy, whom we thought very little of in the course of the story. In the present work, however, there is a great attempt to make an interesting fable. Characters are brought forward, and sketched finely, and undertake a great deal and do little or nothing. The reader's curiosity is perpetually awakened by doubtful intimations, and he is extremely busy and ingenious to look into the mysteries of character and the bearings of plots, and after all he finds that very little was intended or at least accomplished, but an unfair excitement and baffling of his acuteness and eagerness. The story is in mist throughout, lest it should be seen through too soon and too easily; and devices the most awkward are resorted to, to keep it in motion, when it threatens to come suddenly to a close. There is every where a want of object, of something about which these restless agents may revolve, and which may give meaning and consequence to the preparations which are going on. There is no commanding spirit here, whose presence is felt the moment he appears, not because his purposes are seen through, but from some nameless influence, which touches us as if we were by, and saw every thing, and had something to do or suffer with the rest. In parts, there is a great hurry and sudden shifting of scenes, arising from impatience, not from the bustle or thickening interest of the story. In other places, there is a dead pause for the hero to talk needlessly of himself, or to make explanations, and stand in the way of other people and of animated conversation. And even his explanations are lame,—he evidently wants information of what is going on at a distance, so that matters, which ought to be important, are left in obscurity. We do not carry from this tale the distinct remembrance of every thing, which is left by the others. And yet Rob Roy, though it have faults enough to put any other man in peril, has beauties with them that might make any other man immortal.

In the opening, we are made acquainted with the hero's father, a London merchant, who does very little for the story but set it a-going; the author however is prodigal of his genius, and has given a sketch of this man which has great truth and spirit. The hero is nothing, unless you will take him for a satire personified upon the whole class. And we may say this of his brethren in the other tales. They are the only persons that the author labours to make something of, as if in pity for their incapacity, and they are the only indifferent beings that he has any concern with. You would never think of Frank Osbaldistone, were he not kindly telling the story, or sometimes teasing you by his insignificant interference with actions and characters that are wholly beyond him. But his father, who lives in a counting-house, and goes once to Holland upon a matter of no importance to any one but the Company, is never forgotten. Most writers would have fastened him upon us as an excellent moral lesson, and told us of his good habits and hours, and of his stern integrity,—in short, made him a very Thorowgood. Our author does as well, not by making us own that indeed the man led an honest life, but by exciting a deep respect for the principles and views of the merchant, and leading us to conclude the inevitable virtue and consistency of his actions, without enumerating them. He carries us into the man's mind by every thing which is related of his conduct or appearance, till we think a great deal more about his character than his particular pursuits, and are satisfied what would be his behaviour, if, instead of merchandise, he had turned to any other profession, or been cast in a different situation.

Frank was a little too romantic for trade, and his father sufficiently self-willed not to humour his boy. Owen, the head clerk,—a character made up of simplicity, affectionateness and the ledger,—does all he can to effect a reconciliation, but in vain; and accordingly our hero is sent to Northumberland to cure his folly, by fair experience of the life, which country gentlemen lead. We feel the author very sensibly in the course of Frank's journey, but we pass over Mr. Morris with his portmanteau, and the Landlord's sunday dinner to his guests, as we probably shall many other scenes as admirable in their way, merely because it is too late in the day to give them at full. We wish, however, that Rob Roy had sustained throughout, all the interest which he excites as plain Mr. Campbell, the Scotch dealer in cattle. His character is more poetical in the highlands, but less peculiar, though we would not intimate that there is in it the slightest incongruity.

Frank was now on his first visit to Osbaldistone Hall in Northumberland, the abode of his ancestors, and in the possession of his uncle, Sir Hildebrand. As he approached, he heard the sounds of the chase, and began to revolve the sad time he should have in a family of mere sportsmen.

'A vision that passed me interrupted these reflections. It was a young lady, the loveliness of whose very striking features was enhanced by the animation of the chase and the glow of the exercise, mounted on a beautiful horse, jet black, unless where he was flecked by spots of the snow-white foam which embossed his bridle. She wore, what was then somewhat unusual, a coat, vest, and hat, resembling those of a man, which fashion has since called a riding-habit. The mode had been introduced while I was in France, and was perfectly new to me. Her long black hair streamed on the breeze, having in the hurry of the chase escaped from the ribbon which bound it. Some very broken ground through which she guided her horse with the most admirable address and presence of mind, retarded her course, and brought her closer to me than any of the other riders had passed. I had, therefore, a full view of her uncommonly fine face and person, to which an inexpressible charm was added by the wild gayety of the scene, and the romance of her singular dress and unexpected appearance.' p. 58.

One of the sportsmen came up to announce that the chase was at a close.

'I observed them both look at me and converse a moment in an under tone, the young lady apparently pressing the sportsman to do something which he declined shyly, and with a sort of sheepish sullenness. She instantly turned her horse's head towards me, saying—"Well, well, Thornie, if you wont, I must, that's all.—Sir," she continued, addressing me, "I have been endeavouring to persuade this cultivated young gentleman to make inquiries at you, whether, in the course of your travels in these parts, you have heard any thing of a friend of ours, one Mr. Francis Osbaldistone, who has been for some days expected at Osbaldistone Hall?"

'I was too happy to acknowledge myself to be the party inquired after, and to express my thanks for the obliging inquiries of the young lady.

"In that case, sir," she rejoined, "as my kinsman's politeness seems to be still slumbering, you will permit me (though I suppose it is highly improper) to stand mistress of ceremonies, and to present to you young Squire Thorncliff Osbaldistone, your cousin, and Die Vernon, who has also the honour to be your accomplished cousin's poor kinswoman." p. 59.

Die and Frank are at once upon the most intimate terms; and her raillery, boldness and ingenuousness, (to say nothing of her horsemanship,) all dart upon us as playfully and brightly as the careless gleams of her beauty.

'But here we are in the court of the old hall, which looks as wild and old fashioned as any of its inmates. There is no great toilette kept at Osbaldistone, you must know; but I must take off these things, they are so unpleasantly warm, and the hat hurts my forehead too," continued the lively girl, taking it off, and shaking down a profusion of sable ringlets, which half laughing, half blushing, she separated with her white slender fingers, in order to clear them away from her beautiful face and piercing hazel eyes.' p. 63.

She threw him the reins and disappeared, leaving the stranger most uncourteously in charge of her horse as well as his own.

'I called for a domestic, but was for some time totally unattended to; which was the more provoking, as I could perceive I was the object of curiosity to several servants, both male and female, from different parts of the building, who popped out their heads and withdrew them, like rabbits in a warren, before I could make a direct appeal to the attention of any individual. The return of the huntsmen and hounds relieved me from my embarrassment, and with some difficulty I got one clown to relieve me of the charge of the horses, and another stupid boor to guide me to the presence of Sir Hildebrand. This service he performed with much such grace and good will, as a peasant who is compelled to act as guide to a hostile patrole, and in the same manner I was obliged to guard against his deserting me in the labyrinth of low-vaulted passages which conducted to "Stun Hall," as he called it, where I was to be introduced to the gracious presence of my uncle.

'We did, however, at length reach a long vaulted room, floored with stone, where a range of oaken tables, of a weight and size too massive ever to be moved a-side, were already covered for dinner. This venerable apartment, which had witnessed the feast of several generations of the Osbaldistone family, bore also evidence of their success in field-sports. Huge antlers of deer, which might have been the trophies of the hunting of Chevy Chace, were ranged around the walls, interspersed with the stuffed skins of badgers, otters, martins, and other animals of chase. Amidst some remnants of old armour, which had, perhaps, served against the Scotch, hung the more valued weapons of Sylvan war, cross-bows, guns of various device and construction, nets, fishing-rods, otter spears, hunting poles, with many other singular devices and engines for taking or killing game. A few old pictures, dimmed with smoke, and stained with March beer, hung on the walls, representing knights and ladies, honoured, doubtless, and renowned in their day; these frowning fearfully from huge bushes of wig and of beard; and those looking delightfully with all their might at the roses which they brandished in their hands.

'I had just time to give a glance at these matters, when about twelve blue-coated servants burst into the hall with much tumult and talk, each rather employed in directing his comrades than in discharging his own duty. Some brought blocks and billets to the fire, which roared, blazed, and ascended, half in smoke, half in flame, up a huge tunnel, with an opening wide enough to accommodate a stone seat within its ample vault, and which was fronted, by way of chimney-piece, with a huge piece of heavy architecture where the monsters of heraldry, embodied by the art of some Northumbrian chisel, grinned and ramped in red freestone, now japanned by the smoke of centuries. Others of these old-fashioned serving men bore huge smoking dishes loaded with substantial fare; others brought in cups, flagons, bottles, yea, barrels of liquor. All tramped, kicked, plunged, shouldered, and jostled, doing as little service, with as much tumult, as could well be imagined. At length, while the dinner was, after various efforts, in the act of being arranged upon the board, the "clamour much of men and dogs," the cracking of whips, calculated for the intimidation of the latter, voices loud and high, steps which, impressed by the heavy-heeled boots of the period, clattered like those in the statue of *Festin de pierre*, announced the arrival of those for whose benefit the preparations were made. The hubbub among the servants rather increased than diminished as this crisis approached; some called to make haste, others to take time; some exhorted to stand out of the way, and make room for Sir Hildebrand and the young squires; some to close round the table, and be *in* the way; some to open, some to shut a pair of folding doors, which divided the hall from a sort of gallery, as I afterwards learned, or withdrawing room, fitted up with black wainscot. Opened the doors were at length, and in rushed curs and men—eight dogs, the domestic chaplain, the village doctor, my six cousins, and my uncle.' pp. 64—66.

It is proper to despatch here a great part of this strange family. The most we remember of five of the long-bodied cousins is, that they were drunken, stupid and lazy, except when they were after game; but even their stupidity is peculiar and various; the author must needs be original in every thing. They all took a part in the rising, in 1715, for placing the Stuarts on the throne, and perished, some one way and some another. The best thing we can recal of any one of them, is Dickon's amusing himself on Sunday, with playing at pitch and toss by himself, his right hand against his left.—Old Sir Hildebrand is rough and generous—a cautious, disappointed Jacobite. He followed the chase with his boys and died about the same time of a broken heart. Justice Inglewood tells the best thing we hear of him. 'When his eldest son, Archie, came to a bad end, in that unlucky affair of Sir John Fenwick's, Old Hildebrand used to hollow out his name as readily as any of the remaining five, and then complain that he could not recollect which of his sons had been hanged. So, pray hasten home, and relieve his paternal solicitude about your cousin.'

There are characters however to redeem the Northumbrian family, and which owe some of their effect to the strange group and the fine old castle, in which they are introduced. Die Vernon is not only very unlike, and very far beyond the cultivated females of the other stories, but our favourite among all the romantic heroines we have yet encountered. She is just such a civilized woman as the author might be expected to sketch successfully.—Her form and disposition begin to open upon us, the moment she appears, and the imagination is never fairly rid of the beautiful vision,—old Owen Feltham would have said of her, 'she hangs upon all the retirements of a man like a perpetual enchantment.' Her beauty is not 'inventoried,' as Olivia would have it, but comes out, as does her character, by degrees and always in connexion with something she feels or utters,—her mind appears to have formed her countenance and figure, as if to give itself a full, visible expression. We almost hear the tones of her voice; and when she pours out her indignation, enthusiasm or devotedness, we see the attitude and action, perfectly natural, unconfined, unthought of—it is 'beauty in the act of expanding into grandeur.' A perpetual grace, lightness and over-frankness of feeling and manner, are united with the delicacy and dignity of an innocent and exalted spirit. There is nothing conventional about her; she has known little of polished life or feminine sympathy. 'I would fain,—she says,—have the freedom of wild heath and open air with the other commoners of nature'—and she seems indeed to have grown up with the wild plants around her, and to have been formed by the free, kind, adorning touches of nature. But beneath her intrepidity and independence, there is a soothing tenderness, a quiet not enfeebling sadness, which soften and ripen the whole character, and give it an air the most exquisitely feminine.

Her cousin Rashleigh, Sir Hildebrand's youngest son, is not so original a being as Diana, nor quite so original as the author would have him, though unlike every thing at the Hall. He is of a hideous mind and person, but with nothing vulgar in the deformity of either. Once seen, he is fatally fastened upon the memory forever. He seems to fight against his personal defects in spite as much as ambition, while every mischievous and ferocious principle within him is nourished and kept in sound health and action, but all controlled by art and caution. He inspires at once dread and disgust, and these are not lessened, we suspect, by the rich tones of his voice, and the gentle but full flow of his conversation.

The strange darkness which hangs over the purposes of Rashleigh and the situation of Diana, is favourable to the effect of that part of the work in which they are chiefly concerned. For all that the reader knows, there may something come of this fine opening—and when we learn at the close, that Rashleigh has only been working some indistinct mischief at a distance, and that Diana, in the good old-fashioned way, has renounced every thing we cared for, for the sake of a lover, our only consolation is to go back to the time, when she was 'the heath-bell of Cheviot and the blossom of the border.' Her character was formed then in her utterly unprotected state,—professing a persecuted faith, doomed to a convent, or to be the wife of one of her scorned cousins, her father under sentence of death living in disguise beneath the same roof, and the secret known only to Rashleigh. And what were the relations between this man and herself?

"Let me know what Rashleigh says of me; for he is the grand engineer and first mover of all the machinery of Osbaldistone-Hall.

"But, supposing there was any thing to tell, Miss Vernon, what does he deserve that betrays the secrets of one ally to another?—Rashleigh, you yourself told me, remained your ally, though no longer your friend.'

"I have neither patience for evasion, nor inclination for jesting, on the present subject. Rashleigh cannot—ought not—dare not, hold any language respecting me, Diana Vernon, but what I may demand to hear repeated. That there are subjects of secrecy and confidence between us, is most certain; but to such, his communications to you could have no relation; and with such, I, as an individual, have no concern."

'I replied, gravely, "that nothing but frivolous talk had passed between Mr. Rashleigh Osbaldistone and me on the state of the family at the Hall; and I protested, that nothing had been said which left a serious impression to her disadvantage. As a gentleman, I said, I could not be more explicit in reporting private conversation."

'She started up with the animation of a Camilla about to advance into battle. "This shall not serve your turn, sir—I must have another answer from you." Her features kindled—her brow became flushed—her eye glanced wild-fire as she proceeded. "I demand such an explanation as a woman basely slandered has a right to demand from every man who calls himself a gentleman—as a creature, motherless, friendless, alone in the world, left to her own guidance and protection, has a right to require from every being having a happier lot, in the name of that God who sent *them* into the world to enjoy, and *her* to suffer. You shall not deny me —or," she added, looking solemnly upwards, "you will rue your denial, if there is justice for wrong either on earth or in Heaven."

'She sat down and resumed her composure, as soon as I entered upon the subject, and when I stopped to seek for the most delicate turn of expression, she repeatedly interrupted me, with "Go on—pray, go on; the first word which occurs to you is the plainest, and must be the best. Do not think of my feelings, but speak as you would to an unconcerned third party."

'Thus urged and encouraged, I stammered through all the account which Rashleigh had given of her early contract to marry an Osbaldistone, and of the uncertainty and difficulty of her choice; and there I would willingly have paused. But her penetration discovered that there was still something behind, and even guessed to what it related.

"Well, it was ill-natured of Rashleigh to tell this tale on me. I am like the poor girl, in the Fairy Tale, who was betrothed in her cradle to the Black Bear of Norway, but complained chiefly of being called Bruin's bride, by her companions at school. But besides all this, Rashleigh said something of himself with relation to me—Did he not?"

"He certainly hinted, that were it not for the idea of supplanting his brother, he would now, in consequence of his change of profession, be desirous that the word Rashleigh should fill up the blank in the dispensation, instead of the word Thorncliff."

"Aye? indeed?" she replied; "was he so very condescending?—Too much honour for his humble hand-maid, Diana Vernon—And she, I suppose, was to be enraptured with joy could such a substitute be effected?"

" To confess the truth, he intimated as much, and even farther insinuated"——

" What ?—Let me hear it all !" she exclaimed hastily.

" That he had broken off your mutual intimacy, lest it should have given rise to an affection by which his destination to the church would not permit him to profit."

" I am obliged to him for his consideration," replied Miss Vernon, every feature of her fine countenance taxed to express the most supreme degree of scorn and contempt. She paused a moment, and then said, with her usual composure, " There is but little I have heard from you which I did not expect to hear, and which I ought not to have expected ; because, bating one circumstance it is all very true. But as there are some poisons so active, that a few drops, it is said, will infect a whole fountain, so there is one falsehood in Rashleigh's communication, powerful enough to corrupt the whole well in which Truth herself is said to have dwelt. It is the leading and foul falsehood, that, knowing Rashleigh as I have reason too well to know him, any circumstance on earth could make me think of sharing my lot with him. No," she continued, with a sort of inward shuddering that seemed to express involuntary horror ; " any lot rather than that—the sot, the gambler, the bully, the jockey, the insensate fool, were a thousand times preferable to Rashleigh ;—the convent—the jail—the grave, shall be welcome before them all."

'There was a sad and melancholy cadence in her voice, corresponding with the strange and interesting romance of her situation.

" I told you in jest," she said, " that I disliked compliments—I now tell you in earnest, that I do not ask sympathy, and that I despise consolation. What I have borne I have borne—What I am to bear, I will sustain as I may ; no word of commiseration can make a burthen feel one feather's weight lighter to the slave who must carry it. There is only one human being who could have assisted me, and that is he who has rather chosen to add to my embarrassment—Rashleigh Osbaldistone. Yes ! the time once was that I might have learned to love that man—But, great God ! the purpose for which he insinuated himself into the confidence of one already so forlorn—the undeviating and continued assiduity with which he pursued that purpose from year to year, without one single momentary pause of remorse or compassion—the purpose to which he would have converted into poison the food he administered to my mind—Gracious Providence ! what should I have been in this world and the next, in body and soul, had I fallen under the arts of this accomplished villain !" pp. 159—163.

With this extract we take leave of Die Vernon. We regard that part of the book, which belongs to her, as a precious fragment, and unlike all that has come from the same hand. Every event is plainly designed for her and has but slender intimacy with any thing hereafter. There is nothing disturbing in the narrative—and very little variety of interest, but always a beautiful transparency and flow in the style, and great spirit in the conversation. The most bustling scene is at Justice Inglewood's, where the author brings together, in his peculiar way, a variety of characters, that he may set them against each other and observe the contrasts, and the influence which men unconsciously exert in bringing each other out.

In exchange for Frank, Rashleigh had heen taken into the London House, and after what has transpired, we are not astonished to learn that during his uncle's absence, he ran off to Scotland, with remittances and effects, pretending that he was to take up bills granted by his uncle to certain Highland proprietors, of whom he had made large purchases of woods. Rashleigh's real object, after enriching himself, was, we believe, to embarrass the House, and thus prevent the payment of the bills. This would hasten a rising in the Highlands, by distressing those to whom they were originally granted. Hatred of the government, and an 'outbreak for the Stuarts' would follow. This was a state of things, which Rashleigh and other leading Jacobites were trying to produce, and they succeeded. This political intrigue is a dim, clumsy affair, and of little importance to us, except that it gives Frank an opportunity to visit Scotland, where he is to join Owen, the head-clerk, in looking up the stray partner.

We must now introduce Mr. Andrew Fairservice, a Scotch gardener, upon Sir Hildebrand's estate. He is exceedingly knavish, cowardly and selfish, well-informed in every thing Scotch, as bitter an enemy of papists as his worldly concerns will allow him to be, with as much superstition, shrewd humour, and poetical language and allusion, as the author has prepared us to expect from his countrymen in the humble classes. Andrew is of course very diverting and vexatious. He had lived at the Hall many a tedious year, in spite of his religious scruples and light purse. But he had reasons for it.

"I hae been flitting every term these four and twenty years; but when the time comes, there's aye something to saw that I would like to see sawn, or something to maw that I would like to see mawn, or something to ripe that I would like to see ripen, and sae I e'en daiker on wi' the family frae year's end to year's end. And

I wad say for certain. that I am gaun to quit at Cannlemas, only I was just as positive on it twenty years syne, and I find myself still turning up the mouls here, for a' that. Forbye that, to tell your honour the even down truth, there's nae better place ever offered to Andrew. But if your honour wad wush me to ony place where I wad hear pure doctrine, and hae a free cow's grass, and a cot, and a yard, and mair than ten punds of annual fee, and where there's nae leddy about the town to count the apples, I'se hold mysel muckle indebted to you."

"Bravo, Andrew; I perceive you'll lose no preferment for want of asking patronage."

"I canna see what for I should; it's no a generation to wait till ane's worth's discovered, I trow."

"But you are no friend, I observe, to the ladies."

"Na, by my troth, I keep up the first gardener's quarrel to them. They're fasheous bargains—aye crying for apricocks, pears, plums, and apples, summer and winter, without distinction o' seasons; but we hae nae slices o' the spare rib here, be praised for't! except auld Martha, and she's weel aneugh pleased wi' the freedom o' the berry-bushes to her sister's weans, when they come to drink tea in a holiday in the housekeeper's room, and wi' a wheen codlings now and then for her ain private supper." pp. 78, 79.

Frank applied to him for a guide to Glasgow, whereupon Andrew, who knew as well as any one how to 'cuitle up the daft young English Squire,' offered his own services, and after a journey, distinguished chiefly and from the beginning by Mr. Fairservice's knavery, the travellers reach Glasgow on Sunday. They follow the crowd to the cathedral, which, with the grave yard, and the congregation in the sepulchral church, is described with singular distinctness and simplicity. The whole scene is perfectly new to us, and the effect throughout is to inspire a still religious awe, and to recal a thousand early remembrances of Sabbath-days, and unfilled graves. A voice in the crowd whispers Frank to be on the bridge at midnight, and we are soon brought to one of the finest night scenes in a city that we can recollect. There is no vulgar terror here, nothing overdone for effect,—the growing stillness and desertion of the streets, the dim melancholy grandeur of the river and arches are enough of themselves to inspire deep and sad thought. The meeting of Frank and the stranger, their walk through the city to the prison, the chilling allusions of the outlaw to the risk he now encounters for his young companion, are all in the same spirit. And the half-savage joy, idolatry and alarm of Dougal the turnkey, when he recognises in the stranger and at such a place, his own proscribed leader, serve but to heighten the effect of this perfectly simple and awful scene.—Frank finds Owen in the jail, where he had been cast on his arrival, by some ungrateful Scotch correspondents, who had claims against the House, but no mercy for its present embarrassments. Explanations and sympathy follow of course, and are soon interrupted, to our great satisfaction and the alarm of the intruders, by the arrival and bustling entrance of Baillie Nicol Jarvie, another correspondent of quite an opposite character. And once for all, we must say of Mr. Jarvie, that he is our chief delight among the men. He is an easy, knowing man, of a very ancient school, we should think, not perfectly original, and yet not the less agreeable for that. His prejudices, old proverbs, magisterial airs and commercial habits mix in so naturally with his vanity, benevolence, and blunt good nature, that they all appear to have been born with him. He is sagacious and often discreet, and has a very suitable love of life and comfort ; but with these he has a great share of natural intrepidity and self-esteem, and he is excessively fond of hearing himself talk, let the hazard be what it may. 'I trow I hae a Scotch tongue in my head—if they speak, I'se answer.' And it is delightful to hear him talk. Every thing is entertaining when he is by, and the author has dealt liberally with him, as he does with all his favourites. The Baillie is quite offended at finding strangers in the jail at this hour, and orders the doors to be secured, that he may examine them after he has had a talk with Mr. Owen upon matters of business. This is soon despatched, and then he begins his scrutiny.

'The first whom he approached was my mysterious guide, who, seated on a table, with his eyes firmly fixed on the wall, his features arranged into the utmost inflexibility of expression, his hands folded on his breast with an air betwixt carelessness and defiance, his heel patting against the foot of the table, to keep time with the tune which he continued to whistle, submitted to Mr. Jarvie's investigation with an air of absolute confidence and assurance, which for a moment, placed at fault the memory and sagacity of the acute and anxious investigator.

"Ah! Eh! Oh!" exclaimed the Baillie. "Conscience! it's impossible—and yet—no! Conscience, it canna be! And yet again—Deil hae me! that I suld say sae—Ye robber—ye cataran—ye born deevil that ye are, to a' bad ends and nae gude ane—can this be you?"

"E'en as ye see, Baillie," was the laconic answer.

"Conscience! if I am na clean bumbaized—you, ye cheat-the-wuddy rogue, you here on your venture in the tolbooth o' Glasgow? What d'ye think's the value o' your head?"

"Umph—why, fairly weighed, and Dutch weight, it might weigh down one provost's, four baillies', a town clerk's, six deacons', besides stent-masters"——

"Ah, ye reiving villain!" said Mr. Jarvie. "But tell ower your sins, and prepare ye, for if I say the word"——

"True Baillie," said he who was thus addressed, folding his hands behind him with the utmost *nonchalance*, "but ye will never say that word."

"And why suld I not, sir?" exclaimed the magistrate—"Why suld I not? Answer me that—why suld I not?"

"For three sufficient reasons, Baillie Jarvie—first, for auld langsyne;—second, for the sake of the auld wife ayont the fire at Stuckavrallachan, that made some mixture of our bluids, to my own proper shame be it spoken, that has a cousin wi' accounts, and yarn winnles, and looms, and shuttles, like a mere mechanical person;—and lastly, Baillie, because if I saw a sign o' your betraying me, I would plaister that wa' with your harns ere the hand of man could rescue you!"

"Ye're a bauld desperate villain, sir," retorted the undaunted Baillie; "and ye ken that I ken ye to be sae, and that I wadna stand a moment for my ain risk."

"I ken weel," said the other, "ye hae gentle bluid in your veins, and I wad be laith to hurt my ain kinsman. But I'll gang out here as free as I came in, or the very wa's o' Glasgow tolbooth shall tell o't these ten years to come."

"Weel, weel," said Mr. Jarvie, "bluid's thicker than water; and it lies na in kith, kin, and ally, to see mots in ilk other's een if other een see them no. It wad be sair news to the auld wife below the Ben of Stuckavrallachan, that you, ye Hieland limmer, had knockit out my harns, or that I had kilted you up in a tow. But ye'll own, ye dour deevil, that were it no your very sell, I wad hae grippit the best man in the Hielands."

"Ye wad hae tried, cousin," answered my guide, "that I wot weel; but I doubt ye wad hae come aff wi' the short measure, for we gang-there-out Hieland bodies are an unchancy generation when you speak to us o' bondage. We downa bide the coercion of gude braid-claith about our hinderlans; let a be breeks o' freestone, and garters o' iron."

"Ye'll find the stane breeks and the airn garters, ay, and the hemp cravat, for a' that, neighbour," replied the Baillie. "Nae man in a civilized country ever played the pliskies ye hae done—but e'en pickle in your ain pock-neuck—I hae gi'en ye warning."

"Well, cousin," said the other, "ye'll wear black at my burial?"

"Deil a black cloak will be there, Robin, but the corbies and the hoodie craws, I'se gi'e ye my hand on that. But whar's the gude thousand pund Scots that I lent ye, man, and when am I to see it again?"

"Where it is," replied my guide, after the affectation of considering for a moment,—"I cannot justly tell—probably where last year's snaw is."

"And that's on the top of Schehallion, ye dog," said Mr. Jarvie; "and I look for payment frae you where ye stand."

"Ay," replied the Highlander, "but I keep nather snaw nor dollars in my sporran. And as to when you'll see it—why, just when the king enjoys his ain again, as the auld sang says."

"Warst of a', Robin," retorted the Glaswegian,—"I mean, ye disloyal traitor—Warst of a'! Wad ye bring Popery in on us, and arbitrary power, and a foist and a warming-pan, and the set forms, and the curates, and the auld enormities o' surplices and cearments? Ye had better stick to your auld trade o' theft-boot, black-mail, spreaghs, and gill-ravaging—better stealing nowte than ruining nations."

"Hout man, whisht wi' your whiggery," answered the Celt, "we hae kenn'd ane anither mony a lang day. I'se take care your counting-room is no cleaned out when the Gillon-a-naillie come to redd up the Glasgow buiths, and clear them o' their auld shop-wares. And, unless it just fa' in the preceese way o' your duty, ye manna see me oftener, Nicol, than I am disposed to be seen." vol. ii. pp. 20—23.

During this interview, means are found of putting into the stranger's (we may as well say at once Rob Roy's) hands, a letter which Diana had given Frank when he left the Hall. It was from her father, a leading Jacobite, addressed to Rob, and requiring, as far as we understand, that Rashleigh should give up the papers he had absconded with. Rashleigh and Rob, we must remember, are associates, at least for political purposes. Long before this they had robbed the gauger Morris, who was travelling to Scotland with Government money and despatches. And since Rashleigh's credit was too low to enable him to 'put off the paper' he had taken from the House, it was now secreted in the Highlands. The amount of all this is that we are to be carried thither to see the land and the tribes. Rob invites the Baillie and Frank to visit him in the glens and he will see what can be done—and they leave the gaol together; Dougal having fled beforehand; but he had wisely left the door unclosed and carried off the keys, that Rob might meet as few hindrances in his escape as possible.

"I tell you, Robin," said the magistrate, "in my puir mind, if ye live the life ye do, ye shuld hae ane o' your gillies door-keeper in every jail in Scotland, in case o' the warst."

"Ane o' my kinsman a baillie in ilka burgh will just do as weel, cousin Nicol—so, gude night or gude morning to ye; and forget not the Clachan of Aberfoil."

'And without waiting for an answer, he sprung to the other side of the street, and was lost in darkness. Immediately on his disappearance, we heard him give a low whistle of peculiar modulation; which was instantly replied to.

"Hear to the Hieland deevils," said Mr. Jarvie; "they think themsels on the skirts of Benlomond already, where they may gang whewing and whistling about without minding Sunday or Saturday." p. 29.

This is the third introduction of Mr. Campbell, or Rob Roy, or, as he says by and by, 'my foot is on my native heath and my name is Mac Gregor.' He was well born, and though his early business was that of a drover, a thriving, honest dealer in cattle, his pride of lineage and love of a wild life are unimpaired. As the Baillie says,

"The times cam hard, and Rob was venturesome. It wasna my faut—it wasna my faut; he canna wyte me. I aye tauld him o't—And the creditors, mair especially some grit neighbours o' his, grippit to his living and land; and they say his wife was turned out o' the house to the hill-side, and sair misguided to the boot. Shamefu'! shamefu'!—I am a peacefu' man and a magistrate, but if ony ane had guided sae muckle as my servant quean, Mattie, as it's like they guided Rob's wife, I think it suld hae set the shabble that my father the deacon had at Bothwel-brigg a-walking again. Weel, Rob cam hame, and fand desolation, God pity us! where he left plenty; he looked east, west, south and north, and saw neither hauld nor hope—neither bield nor shelter—sae he e'n pu'd the bonnet ower his brow, belted the broadsword to his side, took to the brae-side, and became a broken man." p. 61.

Take him then for a warm-hearted, shrewd, strong-bodied adventurer and outlaw, trusting to his prowess as much as Donald Bean trusted to his craft, with devoted followers on every hand to support him in resisting the law, levying black-mail, and putting down the king.

We shall now follow the Baillie, Frank and Andrew Fairservice to the Highlands. If the author is ever more successful in one kind of description than another, we suspect it is when he describes heaths, and low, swampy regions, that are desolate and yet tame.

'The road which we travelled, had become wild and open, so soon as we had left Glasgow a mile or two behind us, and was growing more dreary as we advanced. Huge continuous heaths spread before, behind, and around us in hopeless barrenness, now level and interspersed with swamps, green with treacherous verdure, or sable with turf, or, as they call them in Scotland, peat-bogs, and now swelling into huge heavy ascents, which wanted the dignity and form of hills, while they were still more toilsome to the passenger. There were neither trees nor bushes to relieve the eye from the russet livery of absolute sterility. The very heath was of that stinted imperfect kind which has little or no flower, and affords the coarsest and meanest covering, which, as far as my experience enables me to judge, mother Earth is ever arrayed in. Living thing we saw none, except occasionally a few straggling sheep of a strange diversity of colours, as black, bluish, and orange. The sable hue predominated, however, in their faces and legs. The very birds seemed to shun these wastes, and no wonder, since they had an easy method of escaping from them; at least I only heard the monotonous and plaintive cries of the lapwing and curlew, which my companions denominated the peasweep and whaup.' p. 75.

It was now a time of trouble in the Highlands. Every thing indicated jealousy and bitterness towards all that belonged to the king or came from the low country, and parties of soldiers were out to suppress the disaffected and especially to take the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy. Our travellers had determined to pass the night at the little inn of Aberfoil, on the other side of the Forth. It was preoccupied by some of these soldiers, who had determined to be alone, but Frank and the Baillie would venture in, in spite of the sullen remonstrances of the landlady, and we should have been sorry to lose one of the liveliest sketches in the book.

'The interiour presented a view which seemed singular enough to southern eyes. The fire, fed with blazing turf and branches of dried wood, blazed merrily in the centre; but the smoke, having no means to escape but through a hole in the roof, eddied round the rafters of the cottage, and hung in sable folds at the height of about five feet from the floor. The space beneath was kept pretty clear, by innumerable currents of air which rushed towards the fire from the broken panel of basket-work which served as a door, from two square holes, designed as ostensible windows, through one of which was thrust a plaid, and through the other a tattered great coat; and moreover, through various less distinguishable apertures in the walls of the tenement, which, being built of round stones and turf, cemented by mud, let in the atmosphere at innumerable crevices.

'At an old oaken table, adjoining to the fire, sat three men, guests apparently, whom it was impossible to regard with indifference. Two were in the Highland dress; the one, a little dark complexioned man, with a lively, quick, and irritable expression of features, wore the trews, or close pantaloons, wove out of a sort of chequered stocking stuff. The Baillie whispered me, that "he behoved to be a man of some consequence, for that naebody but their Duinhéwassels wore the trews; they were very ill to weave exactly to their Highland pleasure."

'The other mountaineer was a very tall, strong man, with a quantity of reddish hair, freckled face, high cheek-bones, and long chin—a sort of caricature of the national features of Scotland. The tartan which he wore differed from that of his companion, as it had much more scarlet in it, whereas the shades of black and dark green predominated in the chequers of the other. The third, who sate at the same table, was in the lowland dress, a bold, stout looking man, with a cast of military daring in his eye and manner, his riding dress showily and profusely laced, and his cocked hat of formidable dimensions. His hanger and a pair of pistols lay on the table before him. Each of the Highlanders had their naked dirks stuck upright in the board beside him, an emblem, I was afterwards informed, but surely a strange one, that their compotation was not to be interrupted by any brawl. A mighty pewter measure, containing about an English quart of usquebaugh, a liquor nearly as strong as brandy, which the Highlanders distil from malt, and drink undiluted in excessive quantities, was placed before these worthies. A broken glass, with a wooden foot, served as a drinking cup to the whole party, and circulated with a rapidity, which, considering the potency of the liquor, seemed absolutely marvellous. These men spoke loud and eagerly together, sometimes in Gaelic, at other times in English. Another Highlander, wrapt in his plaid, reclined on the floor, his head resting on a stone, from which it was only separated by a wisp of straw, and slept, or seemed to sleep, without attending to what was going on around him. He also was probably a stranger, for he lay in full dress, and accoutred with the sword and target, the usual arms of his countrymen when on a journey. Cribs there were of different dimensions beside the walls, formed, some of fractured boards, some of shattered wicker work or plaited boughs, in which slumbered the family of the house, men, women, and children, their places of repose only concealed by the dusky wreaths of vapour which arose above, below, and around them.

'Our entrance was made so quietly, and the carousers I have described were so eagerly engaged in their discussions, that we escaped their notice for a minute or two. But I observed the Highlander who lay beside the fire,' (and who turned out to be Dougal, the turnkey,) 'raise himself on his elbow as we entered, and, drawing his plaid over the lower part of his face, fix his look on us for a few seconds, after which he resumed his recumbent posture, and seemed again to betake himself to the repose which our entrance had interrupted.

'We advanced to the fire, which was an agreeable spectacle after our late ride, during the chillness of an autumn evening among the mountains, and first attracted the attention of the guests who had preceded us, by calling for the landlady. She approached, looking doubtfully and timidly, now at us, now at the other party, and returned a hesitating and doubtful answer to our request to have something to eat.

"She didna ken," she said, "she wasna sure there was ony in the house," and then modified her qualification,—"that is, ony thing fit for the like of us."

'I assured her we were indifferent to the quality of our supper; and looking round for means of accommodation, which were not easily to be found, I arranged an old hen-coop as a seat for Mr. Jarvie, and turned down a broken tub to serve for my own. Andrew Fairservice entered presently afterwards, and took a place in silence behind our backs. The natives, as I may call them, continued staring at us with an air as if confounded by our assurance, and we, at least I myself, disguised as well as we could, under an appearance of indifference, any secret anxiety we might feel concerning the mode in which we were to be received by our predecessors.

'At length, the lesser Highlander, addressing himself to me, said, in very good English, and in a tone of great haughtiness, "Ye make yourself at home, sir, I see."

"I usually do so," I replied, "when I come into a house of public entertainment."

"And did she na see," said the taller man, "by the white wand at the door, that gentlemens had taken up the public-house on their ain business?"

"I do not pretend to understand the customs of this country; but I am yet to learn," I replied, "how three persons should be entitled to exclude all other travellers from the only place of shelter and refreshment for miles around."

"There's nae reason for't, gentlemen," said the Baillie, "we mean nae offence—but there's neither law nor reason for't—but as far as a stoup o' gude brandy wad make up the quarrel, we, being peaceable folk, wad be willing"——

"Damn your brandy, sir!" said the Lowlander, adjusting his cocked-hat fiercely upon his head; "we desire neither your brandy nor your company," and up he rose from his seat. His companions also arose, muttering to each other, drawing up their plaids, and snorting and snuffing the air after the manner of their countrymen when working themselves into a passion.'

"We are three to three," said the lesser Highlander, glancing his eyes at our party; "if ye be pretty men, draw;" and, unsheathing his broadsword, he advanced on me. I put myself in a posture of defence, and, aware of the superiority of my weapon, a rapier or small-sword, was little afraid of the issue of the contest. The Baillie behaved with unexpected mettle. As he saw the gigantic Highlander confront him with his weapon drawn, he tugged for a second or two at the hilt of his *shabble*, as he called it; but finding it loth to quit the sheath, to which it had long been secured by rust and disuse, he seized, as a substitute, on the red-hot coulter of a plough which had been employed in arranging the fire by way of a poker, and brandished it with such effect, that at the first pass he set the Highlander's plaid on fire, and compelled him to keep a respectful distance till he could get it extinguished. Andrew, on the contrary, who ought to have faced the Lowland champion, had, I grieve to say it, vanished at the very commencement of the fray. But his antagonist, crying, "Fair play! fair play!" seemed courteously disposed to take no share in the scuffle. Thus we commenced our rencounter on fair terms as to numbers. My own aim was, to possess myself, if possible, of my antagonist's weapon; but I was deterred from closing for fear of the dirk which he held in his left hand, and used in parrying the thrusts of my rapier. Meantime the Baillie, notwithstanding the success of his first onset, was sorely bested. The weight of his weapon, the corpulence of his person, the very effervescence of his own passions, were rapidly exhausting both his strength and his breath, and he was almost at the mercy of his antagonist, when up started the sleeper from the floor on which he reclined, with his naked sword and target in his hand, and threw himself between the discomfited magistrate and his assailant, exclaiming, "Her nainsell has eaten the town pread at the Cross o' Glasgow, and py her troth she'll fight for Baillie Sharvie at the Clachan of Aberfoil—tat will she e'en." And, seconding his words with deeds, this unexpected auxiliary made his sword whistle about the ears of his tall countryman, who, nothing abashed, returned his blows with interest. But being both accoutred with round targets made of wood, studded with brass, and covered with leather, with which they readily parried each other's strokes, their combat was attended with much more noise and clatter than serious risk of damage. It appeared, indeed, that there was more of bravado than of serious attempt to do us any injury; for the Lowland gentleman, who, as I mentioned, had stood aside for want of an antagonist when the brawl commenced, was now pleased to act the part of moderator and peace-maker.

"Haud your hands—haud your hands—aneugh done—aneugh done! the quarrel's no mortal. The strange gentlemen have shown themselves men of honour, and gi'en reasonable satisfaction. I'll stand on mine honour as kittle as ony man, but I hate unnecessary bloodshed."

'It was not, of course, my wish to protract the fray—my adversary seemed equally disposed to sheath his sword—the Baillie, gasping for breath, might be considered as *hors de combat*, and our two sword-and-buckler men gave up their contest with as much indifference as they had entered into it.

"And now," said the worthy gentleman who acted as umpire, "let us drink and gree like honest fellows—The house will haud us a'. I propose that this good little gentleman that seems sair fourfoughen, as I may say, in this tuilzie, shall send for a tass o' brandy, and I'll pay for another, by way of Archilowe, and then we'll birl our bawbees a' round about, like brethren."

"And fa's to pay my new ponny plaid," said the larger Highlander, "wi' a hole burnt in't ane might put a kail-pat through? Saw ever ony body a decent gentleman fight wi' a firebrand before."

"Let that be nae hinderance," said the Baillie, who had now recovered his breath, and was at once disposed to enjoy the triumph of having behaved with spirit, and avoid the necessity of again resorting to such hard and doubtful arbitrament; "Gin I hae broken the head," he said, "I sall find the plaister. A new plaid sall ye hae, and o' the best—your ain clan-colours man; and ye will tell me where it can be sent t'ye frae Glasgow."

"I needna name my clan—I am of a king's clan, as is weel kenn'd," said the Highlander, "but ye may tak a bit o' the plaid—figh, she smells like a singit sheep's head! and that'll learn ye the sett—and a gentleman, that's a cousin o' my ain, that carries eggs doun frae Glencroe, will ca' for't about Martimoes an' ye will tell her where ye bide. But, honest gentleman, neist time ye fight, an' ye hae ony respect for your athversary, let it be wi' your sword, man, since ye wear ane, and no wi' thae het culters and fireprands, like a wild Indian."

'The dame, who was all officiousness so soon as the storm had blown over, immediately undertook to broil something comfortable for our supper. Indeed, nothing surprized me more, in the course of the whole matter, than the extreme calmness with which she and her whole household seemed to regard the martial tumult that had taken place. The good woman was only heard to call to some of her assistants, "Steek the door—steek the door! Kill or be killed, let naebody pass out till they hae paid the lawin." And as for the slumberers in those lairs by the wall, which served the family for beds, they only raised their shirtless bodies to look at the fray, ejaculated "Oigh! oigh!" in the tone suitable to their respective sex and ages, and were, I believe, fast asleep again ere our swords were well returned to their scabbards.' pp. 86—93.

A party of soldiers in search of Rob, arrive at the inn and make prisoners of our travellers, on suspicion. Dougal is soon after brought in captive, and commanded to tell where Rob is lurking, with the threat of a halter and the next tree. Whereupon he assumes the most roguish and impenetrable stupidity we have met with, and undertakes to be the guide. Nothing can be finer than the march.

'I shall never forget the delightful sensation with which I exchanged the dark, smoky, smothering atmosphere of the Highland hut, in which we had passed the night so uncomfortably, for the refreshing fragrance of the morning air, and the glorious beams of the rising sun, which from a tabernacle of purple and golden clouds, were darted full on such a scene of natural romance and beauty as had never before greeted my eyes. To the left lay the valley, down which the Forth wandered on its easterly course, surrounding the beautiful detached hill, with all its garland of woods. On the right, amid a profusion of thickets, knolls, and crags, lay the bed of a broad mountain lake, lightly curled into tiny waves by the breath of the morning breeze, each glittering in its course under the influence of the sun-beams. High hills, rocks, and banks, waving with natural forests of birch and oak, formed the borders of this enchanting sheet of water; and, as their leaves rustled to the wind and twinkled in the sun, gave to the depth of solitude a sort of life and vivacity. Man alone seemed to be placed in a state of inferiority, in a scene where all the ordinary features of nature were raised and exalted. The miserable little *bourocks*, as the Baillie termed them, of which about a dozen formed the village called the Clachan of Aberfoil, were composed of loose stones, cemented by clay instead of mortar, and thatched by turfs, laid rudely upon rafters formed of native and unhewn birches and oaks from the woods around. The roofs approached the ground so nearly, that Andrew Fairservice observed we might have ridden over the village the night before, and never found out we were near it, unless our horses' feet had "gane thro' the riggin'."

'The inhabitants of these miserable dwellings were disturbed by the noise of our departure; and as our party of about twenty soldiers drew up in rank before marching off, we were reconnoitred by many a beldame from the half-opened door of her cottage. As these sybils thrust forth their gray heads, imperfectly covered with close caps of flannel, and showed their shrivelled brows, and long skinny arms, with various gestures, shrugs, and muttered expressions in Gaelic addressed to each other, my imagination recurred to the witches of Macbeth, and I imagined I read in the features of these crones the malevolence of the weird sisters. The little children also, who began to crawl forth, some quite naked, and others very imperfectly covered with tatters of tartan stuff, clapped their tiny hands, and grinned at the English soldiers, with an expression of national hate and malignity which seemed beyond their years.

'It was not until we commenced our march that the malignity of the elder persons of the community broke forth into expressions. The last file of men had left the village, to pursue a small broken track formed by the sledges in which the natives transported their peats and turfs, and which led through the woods which fringed the lower end of the lake, when a shrilly sound of female exclamation, mixed with the screams of children, the hooping of boys, and the clapping of hands with which the Highland dames enforce their notes whether of rage or lamentation. I asked Andrew, who looked as pale as death, what all this meant.

"I doubt we'll ken that ower sune," said he. "Means ?—It means that the Highland wives are cursing and banning the red coats, and wishing ill-luck to them, and ilka ane that ever spoke the Saxon tongue. I have heard wives flyte in England and Scotland—it's nae marvel to hear them flyte ony gate—but sic ill-scrapit tongues as thae Hieland carlines'—and sic grewsome wishes, that men should be slaughtered like sheep—and that they should lapper their hands to the elbows in their heart's blude—and that they suld dee the death of Walter Cuming of Guiyock, wha hadna as muckle o' him left thegither as would supper a messandog—sic awsome language as that I ne'er heard out o' a human thrapple :—and, unless the deil wad rise amang them to gie them a lesson, I thinkna that their talent at cursing could be amended. The warst o't is, they bid us aye gang up the loch, and see what we'll land in." pp. 113—116.

Dougal carried the party to a pass where a fatal contest with some of Rob's followers was inevitable, and in the confusion of the battle he crept into a thicket and Frank after him, leaving the Baillie and Andrew to provide for themselves. We have pitied the honest Baillie all along, for being plunged into such irregular and perilous life ; and we confess, we could scarcely laugh, when we saw him dangling in mid air from a thorn branch, which caught him in his flight as he was stepping from one rock to another. It was much more diverting to see Andrew on the top of a cliff, fully possessed that he was in the midst of danger, and capering and writhing to avoid the balls, which he conceived to be whistling around him.

Helen Campbell, Rob's wife, was at the head of the Highland party—an injured, fierce, iron-hearted woman, presented in majestic attitudes, and rarely speaking but in wrath, indignation or anguish. Her character is overdone and, we should think, fails of the effect intended. She has very little to do, but the author has connected with her one of his most awful scenes. As she was distributing dooms of death amongst the prisoners, wild and then wailing sounds are heard at a distance—a party approaches, led by her two sons, and from them she learns that Rob is made captive. It appears that Rashleigh had proved false to the Stuart interest, and his discoveries had brought the King's troops very suddenly among the disaffected clansmen. His next object was to put Rob into their hands, and so he employed the cowardly gauger, Morris, to inveigle him within reach of the loyal troops, and he was taken. He had however required Morris to stay behind as a hostage.

'The wife of Mac Gregor commanded that the hostage exchanged for his safety should be brought into her presence. I believe her sons had kept this unfortunate wretch out of her sight, for fear of the consequences; but if it was so, their humane precaution only postponed his fate. They dragged forward at her summons a wretch already half dead with terror, in whose agonized features I recognised, to my horror and astonishment, my old acquaintance Morris.

'He fell prostrate before the female Chief with an effort to clasp her knees, from which she drew back, as if his touch had been pollution, so that all he could do in token of the extremity of his humiliation, was to kiss the hem of her plaid. I never heard entreaties for life poured forth with such agony of spirit. The ecstacy of fear was such, that, instead of paralyzing his tongue, as on ordinary occasions, it even rendered him eloquent, and, with cheeks pale as ashes, hands compressed in agony, eyes that seemed to be taking their last look of all mortal objects, he protested with the deepest oaths, his total ignorance of any design on the person of Rob Roy, whom he swore he loved and honoured as his own soul. In the inconsistency of his terror, he said, he was but the agent of others, and he muttered the name of Rashleigh. He prayed but for life—for life he would give all he had in the world;—it was but life he asked—life, if it were to be prolonged under tortures and privations;—he asked only breath, though it should be drawn in the damps of the lowest caverns of their hills.

'It is impossible to describe the scorn, the loathing and contempt, with which the wife of Mac Gregor regarded this wretched petitioner for the poor boon of existence.

"I could have bid you live," she said, "had life been to you the same weary and wasting burthen that it is to me—that it is to every noble and generous mind. But you—wretch! you could creep through the world unaffected by its various disgraces, its ineffable miseries, its constantly accumulating masses of crime and sorrow, you could live and enjoy yourself, while the noble-minded are betrayed—while nameless and birthless villains tread on the neck of the brave and the long-descended, you could enjoy yourself, like a butcher's dog in the shambles, battening on garbage, while the slaughter of the brave went on around you! This enjoyment you shall not live to partake of; you shall die, base dog, and that before yon cloud has passed over the sun."

'She gave a brief command in Gaelic to her attendants, two of whom seized upon the prostrate suppliant, and hurried him to the brink of a cliff which overhung the flood. He set up the most piercing and dreadful cries that fear ever uttered—I may well term them dreadful, for they haunted my sleep for years afterward. As the murderers, or executioners, call them as you will, dragged him along, he recognised me even in that moment of horror, and exclaimed, in the last articulate words I ever heard him utter, "O, Mr. Osbaldistone, save me! save me!"

'I was so much moved by this horrid spectacle, that, although in momentary expectation of sharing his fate, I did attempt to speak in his behalf, but, as might have been expected, my interference was sternly disregarded. The victim was held fast by some, while others, binding a large heavy stone in a plaid, tied it round his neck, and others again eagerly stripped him of some part of his dress. Half-naked, and thus manacled, they hurled him into the lake, there about twelve feet deep, drowning his last death-shriek with a loud halloo of vindictive triumph, above which, however, the yell of mortal agony was distinctly heard. The heavy burden splashed in the dark-blue waters of the lake, and the Highlanders, with their pole-axes and swords, watched an instant, to guard, lest, extricating himself from the load to which he was attached, he might have struggled to regain the shore. But the knot had been securely bound; the victim sunk without effort; the waters which his fall had disturbed, settled calmly over him. and the unit of that life for which he had pleaded so strongly, was forever withdrawn from the sum of human existence.'

After the blood has curdled at this, it is quite restoring to hear from Mad. de Stael, that 'the love of life appears to man the most ridiculous and the most vulgar of feelings; and the laughter, which seizes upon mortal beings, when contemplating the object of one of their fellow-mortals, suffering under the apprehension of death, must be confessed to be a noble attribute of the human understanding.'

We have next a fruitless negotiation between Frank, on the part of Helen, and the commander of the enemy, for Rob's freedom. Accordingly, Rob takes his escape upon himself, though he was to hang next morning and was surrounded by guards. He effects his object as the party is crossing the Forth at sunset; and the attempts to retake or destroy him, by the horsemen in the river, or along the steep banks, the shouts, straggling pistol shots, splash of water, the wildness of the country and the gathering darkness altogether are enough to put one out of breath.

Then follows the interview between the travellers and Rob at the inn and afterwards at his 'puir dwelling,' and then the final parting. The poetry of Rob's character is here given with great warmth and eloquence, and it is the more affecting from its harmony with the picturesque scene that surrounds him, and from the contrast between the ever-changing lights, in which his heart is laid open, and the undisturbed, funereal gloom that hangs over Helen Campbell. But we can extract no more.

We never intended to tell the whole story, or how all were made happy in the end, who deserved to be,—and we are the more willing to stop here, as the remaining fifty pages,—if we except 'the rescue' and Rashleigh's death at the very close, —are a sad falling off from all that the author ever wrote.— If we were asked, which of the tales we liked most, we should say, The Antiquary; and which least,—Rob Roy. But this is a very shallow sort of criticism, and a very unfair way to treat the present work. It has blemishes enough as a whole; but how many parts are there,—perfectly new ones too,— which could come from no other mind on earth! The descriptions of Scottish scenery appear to us as fine as any in the other stories; and we have rarely felt that we were looking upon old prospects. We have here many new and very minute views of Highland manners and usages, and much eloquent expression of the wild, free character and feelings of the mountaineers. It may not be easy to find in the other tales more graphic descriptions of buildings, especially their interior, than are given here. We do not allude merely to the Hall and the cathedral; the author is perhaps even more successful in the Highland hovel, and in the contrast between its smoke and filth, its wretched furniture and vulgar brawls, and the fresh, tranquil, pastoral beauties which surround it. He always delights in the picturesque effect of such scenes. But we must not go over the ground again. On the whole, there is matter here for a better book, and proofs on all hands that the author is not exhausted, that he has not yet forsaken invention and become an artisan.

Art. VIII.—*Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Vol.* xiv. *Containing the cases for the year* 1817. *With a Supplement. By Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. Counsellor at Law.* Boston; Cummings & Hilliard, 1818.

It is but fourteen years since the legislature of this Commonwealth provided, by statute, for the appointment of a reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court; yet the reports of those decisions have already swoln to fourteen volumes.

About thirty years ago, the Russian code of laws was reprinted in this country, in the compass of a common spelling-book. Many visionary men, at that time, exclaimed with wonder at the comparatively massy bulk of our own statutes, and seriously talked of simplifying our jurisprudence and reducing all our laws into a narrow, elementary compend. Reformers sprang up, like locusts, in the time of Shays' Insurrection—and our statute-book now bears witness to their folly. These crude notions had their day and disappeared. The lessons of a long experience were confirmed by more correct and enlarged views of the principles of civil liberty, and our jurisprudence was suffered to remain without further attack, and to be gradually improved by the wisdom of enlightened and practical men. The discussions of the principles of government, which were called forth by our secession from Great Britain and the establishment of new constitutions, convinced all rational minds that there can be no security for property or liberty, where the laws are as short and few as in the Russian code.—In a despotism, it is of little importance whether the pre-established edicts are few or many, or whether there are any at all. The reigning monarch cannot be controlled by them. If he refuse to adhere to them, after they are promulgated, no earthly power can call him to account, or arrest the course of a new and different command.

But where every action and word of a man's life, when called in question, are to be decided upon by fixed principles and rules—where nothing is left to the caprice, or even to the conscience of the judge—it is manifest to the meanest capacity, that no collection of legislative wisdom is competent to embody into a system the rules, which are to govern the multifarious, the infinitely diversified affairs of men. And yet it is clear, that without a fixed rule of some sort, existing before the case to which it is applied, there can be no liberty and no security. The judge must decide arbitrarily, or he must refuse cognizance because no remedy is provided. It would be of very little consequence to the suitor or to the public, which of these courses the judge might pursue.

These suggestions justify, we think, our zealous attachment to the common law,—our fathers' birthright and boast,—our own glory and defence. They also sufficiently account for our disgust and indignation at those who affect to despise, and who, with insufferable self-conceit, revile this venerable and sacred code. The fog, in which the boastful reformers of Shays' time were bewildered, has recently confused the vision of less factious malcontents. Through the medium which surrounds them, they can discern nothing in the common law, but '*the scant and jagged pattern of a beggar's doublet, patched and darned by a purblind housewife.*' Such is the enchantment by which they are affected,—and such the rhetoric they employ. These champions of reform would prescribe moral obligation to judges as their only rule of decision. But in thus gazing after distant and unattainable objects, they overlook all obvious ones. They do not see that very many litigated questions involve no moral considerations—that often it is neither immoral nor unneighbourly for a defendant to resist the claim that is made on him; and that a plaintiff's ultimate defeat is no proof of his having attempted to enforce what morality condemns. There must be a rule, where any freedom or security exists; and that rule, in the cases supposed, has no connexion with morals. Originally, it was of no importance how it might be settled—for the point to which it immediately applied, had nothing of ethics about it. But the rule, when authoritatively settled, becomes sacred, and a departure from it, as it would introduce confusion, would violate morality. If it were necessary, a thousand examples might be adduced to illustrate this doctrine.

There is another fatal absurdity in the notion of referring the determination of causes to the judge's sense of moral obligation. It was long ago said, with as much justice as quaintness, that to make the chancellor's conscience the measure of the law, 'is all one as if they should make the standard for the measure the chancellor's foot. What an uncertain measure would this be! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot. It is the same thing with the chancellor's conscience.' (*Selden's Table-talk.*) All would be uncertainty, and not a whit preferable to the old trial by wager of battel. Judicial corruption would be forever dispunishable, unless the judge were subjected to the scrutiny of an inquisition.

It may appear very idle, thus to notice the projects of 'codification,' and of abolishing the common law, and substituting the judge's sense of moral obligation. But the apparent seriousness of some writers of late, from whom such notions were little to be expected, seemed to warrant a few remarks.—One thing may be said with certainty—that no honest man, who understands the common law as a system, will vilify it in the style we have noticed.

The common law is immemorial usage—a system which has been formed and matured by the experimental wisdom of ages, and which finds its highest eulogy in its practical effects. It is a system of principles; and the new points, which arise and are decided, are merely the application of those principles to new combinations of facts, for the purpose of attaining justice.

We would not be understood to mean, that the common law contains a complete body of principles, which are sufficient, when applied, for every possible purpose of justice. For though in the course of the many ages, during which the wants and wisdom of our British ancestors had been ripening and enlarging the system, previous to the settlement of this country, there was little left to be supplied for the exigencies of a people of the same general habits, pursuits and laws—yet some deficiencies are readily acknowledged. These, however, are extremely few—and can be supplied only by the legislature. In such cases, where there is a grievance, the court cannot redress it without a statute. But it should be recollected, that in no human system can legal and moral obligations be made co-extensive.

It is not pretended that legal science, like mathematical, is founded on demonstration. There are, however, certain elementary principles, which stand in the place of the mathematician's axioms. And it is as true, theoretically at least, that there can be no new principles of common law, as that there can be no new mathematical certainties. The application and combination of principles already established will lead to results, which have not been anticipated, both in legal and mathematical science. But it is no more true now, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, than it was before the flood. The antediluvians might have learned principles from which this proposition was demonstrable; but the joy, the boast and the benefits of the discovery were reserved for later ages. No profound mathematician thinks that his favourite science may not be further improved by some future Newton or La Place, and no lawyer, who deserves the name, thinks his science is brought to perfection, and placed beyond the improvement of a future Mansfield or Parsons.

To preserve and publish the decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court, as rules of future conduct in the business of life, and practice in court, and thereby to improve our system of jurisprudence, were the objects of the legislature in providing for the appointment of a reporter. That the volumes of reports would become numerous, was clearly foreseen; and that there never will be an end of new questions is certain. But almost every question, which has been decided for the last fourteen years, would have been new to those who were not present at the decision of it, had the reports not been published. So that while there is no pretence, that the publication of decided cases increases the number of suits, it is most manifest that it greatly diminishes them. A question once solemnly decided is not again brought before the court —and all have now the means of ascertaining what has been decided. If those who suggest the endless rise of new points, as a reason for not publishing the decisions of any, would for a moment consider what the law is, and to what an infinity of concerns it relates—they must also say, in order to be consistent, that because man is capable of endless progression in knowledge, he ought not to attempt to learn any thing.

The appointment of a reporter and the publishing of his reports were at first intended as an experiment, and the statute was limited in its operation to three years. It was afterwards extended, and is now made perpetual. Thus have the legislature pledged the patronage and exercised the authority of the Commonwealth, on this important subject. One or two other states have done the same, and we are happy to see that the governour of Connecticut has recently recommended the continuance of a similar statute in that state.

It is remarkable that in England nearly all the reports of judicial decisions are the result of voluntary industry. The Year Books were the work of persons specially appointed for the purpose. But early in the reign of Henry VIII. the office of reporter was discontinued. Lord Chancellor Bacon procured the revival of the office, in the reign of James I. but it was soon dropped again, and does not seem, while it continued, to have been productive of the advantages expected from it. Except the reports printed in the name of Hetley, there are none extant which are attributed to men nominated to the office of reporter—and his reports bear no marks of peculiar skill, information or authority. [*Preface to Douglas' Reports.*] Very few of the states in the union have provided for publishing the reports of decisions in their courts, and the United States have had an official reporter only one year. Massachusetts, we believe, took the lead in this work; and it has been no less to her advantage than to her honour.

The volume before us contains many interesting and important decisions.

In the case of *Adams* vs. *Howe and others,* p. 340, the court decided that the statute of 1811, entitled 'An act respecting public worship and religious freedom,' is not contrary to the Declaration of Rights. This will probably surprise most gentlemen of the profession who had not closely examined the subject. After the decision of the case of *Barnes* vs. *The First Parish in Falmouth,* 6 *Mass. Rep.* 401, it seems to have been the general opinion, that an unincorporated society could not constitutionally be vested with power to withdraw monies from a society that was incorporated. Of course it was supposed that the statute of 1811, whenever properly brought before the court, would be declared unconstitutional and void. But the reasoning of the court will convince every one that no such inference is fairly to be drawn from the former decision, and that the power of the legislature, on the subject of religious institutions, is not restrained by the declaration of rights, except as to liberty of conscience, choice of the mode of worship, and the establishment of a power in the state to require conformity to any creed or ritual. The mischiefs to be dreaded from the statute of 1811, did not escape the notice and animadversion of the court, nor the high and solemn responsibility of the legislature, which engaged in the execution of their powers on this important subject. The court declare themselves to be 'aware of the great inconveniences, and the injury to public morals and religion, and the tendency to destroy all the decency and regularity of public worship, which may result from a general application of the indulgence granted by the legislature in that statute.' But they very justly say, that if the legislature 'pass laws within the letter of the constitution, which have a tendency injuriously to affect the regular public worship, it is not for the judiciary power to control their course.'

Another constitutional question is decided in the case of *Wetherbee* vs. *Johnson and others*, p. 412. By a statute of the United States, passed March 3, 1815, it was provided, that in any action in a state court, brought for any thing done or omitted by an inspector or other officer of the customs—either party, after final judgment, might transfer such action by appeal, to the Circuit Court of the United States. After verdict and judgment, in an action of trespass, in which the defendants undertook to justify as officers of the customs for the district of Boston and Charlestown, they filed their claim of appeal to the Circuit Court of the United States.—This claim was disallowed by the Supreme Judicial Court, on the ground that the common law knows nothing of a re-examination of facts once tried by a jury, except in cases of new trial, which can only be granted by the court before which the trial was—and the seventh article of the amendments of the constitution of the United States provides, that 'in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined, in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.' There is no such thing as an appeal in the common law system.

The statute in question was limited in its operation to one year—and had expired before the court decided upon its constitutionality. But it was in force when the defendant's claim was filed; and their counsel did not wave a discussion, which disturbed its ashes.

We presume it is not in the power of a court, from which an appeal is given, to oust the court of appeal of its appellate jurisdiction. The defendants might have carried forward their claim to the Circuit Court, and the constitutionality of the statute of 1815 might thus have been submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. It was doubtless a conviction, that the claim was hopeless, which kept this question out of the court, where statutes of the United States are by law to receive their final construction. That conviction, we think, must have been resistless.

Several mercantile cases of importance are reported in this volume.

In *Wiggin & al.* vs. *Amory*, p. 1, it was decided, that nothing short of a criminal act, or a fraudulent purpose executed, amounts to barratry in the master of a vessel. The master in this case took a commission and letter of marque for the *Volante*, from the American minister in France, without the permission or knowledge of the insurer—but the agents of the ship abroad and the joint supercargo were consulted, and agreed to the expediency of taking the commission, for the purpose, as it was understood, of defence only. The master's orders from his owners were to proceed on his return voyage as expeditiously as possible. The acts relied on by the plaintiffs, in support of the count for loss by barratry in the master, were his wearing ship—demanding surrender—receiving possession, and taking the crew of the prize on board of his ship—manning the prize and ordering her for France. This occupied two or three hours—and the ship was afterwards captured and condemned. The court, upon a scrutiny of all the authorities, held that the facts above stated proved only a deviation, and not barratry. They had previously decided (13 *Mass. Rep.* 118,) contrary to the case of *Denison* vs. *Modigliani*, 5 D. & E. 580, that *the taking* of a letter of marque, by a merchant vessel, without the underwriter's consent, does not avoid a policy on an expedition merely mercantile.

In the case of *Spafford & al.* vs. *Dodge & al.* p. 66, it was decided that the wages and provisions of the crew, during a detention by hostile seizure, are not to be allowed as a general average. This is contrary to the doctrine held by the Supreme Court of New York; but it seems to be a necessary inference from the principle settled in *Brooks* vs. *Dorr & al.* 2

Mass. Rep. 39, that the capture of a ship, which is afterwards restored to the owners, does not dissolve the contract for wages. This seems clearly to be the doctrine of the English courts, though we have seen no case in their books, in which they have been called upon to apply the inference, which was applied in the case we are stating. And the court in New York would not have brought wages and provisions into a general average, had they not denied the principle recognized by the courts in England and in this state, respecting the effect of capture and subsequent restoration upon the contract for wages.—It was also decided in the same case, that the owners of a vessel, which was chartered at a certain hire by the month, so long as she should be continued in the service of the hirers, were entitled to the hire to the time of her arrival at the port of destination, without any deduction for the time of her detention in consequence of capture.—The vessel, in this case, was captured on her homeward passage from St. Ubes, carried into Gibraltar, and there libelled as prize ; but was acquitted on payment of certain costs and charges. She was detained under capture about four months. This point was not found to have been decided in the English courts, and Abbot, in his treatise on the law relative to merchant ships and seamen, expresses a doubt whether the hirer is chargeable, in such case, for the period of detention. The American editor of that work, however, seems to have taken the same view of the question, which is given by the court. As the Court of Kings Bench had very clearly expressed an opinion, that the wages of seamen hired by the month are not stopped during a detention by capture, if the ship is afterwards restored by the capturing power—and as our own court had formerly decided, that the hirer was liable on a similar charterparty for the time the vessel was detained in our own ports by an embargo—there seems to have been ample ground for supporting this part of the plaintiffs' claims.

The other point decided in this case was, that the costs and charges paid by the hirers, to procure restoration of the vessel and cargo, were a general average upon the vessel, cargo and freight, according to the value of each at the place of detention—and to be settled in the same manner as if the ship, cargo and freight, were owned by different persons ; and without regard to any particular contracts relating to the voyage. As in this case the cargo was owned by the hirers for the voyage, so that no price was stipulated for the carriage of the goods, the court directed the freight to be settled according to the customary rate of freight, at that time, from St. Ubes to the port of destination and discharge—deducting the amount of the wages, and provisions usually expended in that voyage. The general average on the freight was, on these principles, charged wholly on the plaintiffs.—The reasons, on which the court decided all these points, are most ably and clearly stated—the case is one of the most instructive that has been reported—and as it determines new questions, and is highly creditable to the learning and talents of the bench, we have thought proper to state it thus particularly.

The case of *Bridge* vs. *Eggleston*, p. 245, presents a decision on the rules of *evidence*, which is not only new but important. It is this, that the conduct and declarations of a grantor, *before the conveyance*, respecting the estate conveyed, and tending to prove a fraudulent intention on his part, are proper evidence for the jury, upon an inquiry into the validity of such conveyance by a creditor or subsequent purchaser, who alleges it to be fraudulent—provided knowledge of such conduct and declarations is brought home to the grantee before the conveyance.—There is no reported case in which this point has been before decided. The third edition of Phillipps on evidence, which is considerably enlarged by the compiler, and which refers to all the English decisions down to Michaelmas Term, 1817, contains nothing on this subject.

The court also decided on most satisfactory grounds, in the case of the *Commonwealth* vs. *Murphy*, p. 388—that the credibility of a female witness may be impeached, by proving her to be a common prostitute.

We were rejoiced to find, (p. 248,) that the court had refused to receive testimony from jurors respecting the manner and motives of their agreement to a verdict. In *Grinnel* vs. *Phillips*, 1 *Mass. Rep.* 542, two judges, against the opinion of the third, admitted such testimony. This was contrary to the English decisions then reported, and, as we think, was also repugnant to sound principles. 1 *D. & E.* 11. *Andrews* 382. 1 *Keb.* 811. Subsequent decisions in England, and also in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, have confirmed the rule now adopted in this state. In New York and Virginia, the courts have adopted an opposite practice.

In the case of *Hall* vs. *Little*, p. 204, we find the court have determined, that a foreigner is within the provision of the fourth section of the statute of limitations. The words of the statute, applicable to this point, are—'from the time such impediment shall be removed.' In the English statute the expression is—'returned from beyond the seas.' It was settled, almost fifty years since, by the Court of Common Pleas in England—and has never been questioned—that the statute does not run against a foreigner until he comes into the realm. 3 *Wils.* 145. 2 *Bl. Rep.* 723 *S. C.* *A fortiori*, one would suppose, is a foreigner within the proviso in our statute. The Supreme Court of New York have also decided in the same manner, on the statute of limitations in that state, 3 *Johns.* 263. As the statute was enacted in this Commonwealth, sixteen years after the decision cited from *Wilson*, and was clearly intended to embrace all the provisions of the several English statutes on the subject,—we were surprised to find, by the suggestion of the court, that this decision will probably be contrary to the common impression of the bar. It is true that *Ballentine*, in his treatise on the statute of limitations, has strangely omitted this point—and *Brook's Reading*, besides being extremely scarce,* is confined to the limitation of real actions, which a foreigner cannot maintain at any time. Still we should not have suspected that any lawyer would question the soundness of the construction given to the statute in this case.

In the case of *Otis* vs. *Warren*, p. 240, it is decided that non-tenure *may* be pleaded in bar. A dictum to the contrary is reported in *Keith* vs. *Swan*, 11 *Mass. Rep.* 217. The point was not much considered in that case, as there was another ground upon which the plea was clearly bad. We have never had a moment's doubt whether that dictum would be retracted. The contrary doctrine is expressly stated in *Doctrina Placitandi*, and 1 *Mod.* 250. 3 *Mass. Rep.* 312. We were also present at the argument and decision of the case of *Barnard* vs. *Whiting*, in 1810, in which this very point was decided by all the judges then in court—viz. Sewall, Thatcher and Parker. That case is not reported.

The supplement to this volume contains two opinions given by the court, in 1784 and 1787, in answer to questions proposed to them by the senate—a very learned and able opinion delivered in 1768, by Judge Trowbridge—and ten cases decided while the late Chief Justice Cushing was on the bench.

We were forcibly struck with the importance and benefits of publishing the decisions of the courts by reading the case of *Hathaway* vs. *Valentine*, contained in the Supplement. It was decided in this case, in 1778—and a former decision of the same point in 1758, was cited by the court—that an executor or administrator could not maintain a real action, unless for the foreclosure of a mortgage.—In 1807, in the case of *Dean* vs. *Dean*, 3 *Mass. Rep.* 260, Judge Parsons suggested a doubt whether an administrator could maintain a real action to obtain seizin of the intestate's lands, unless he claimed as mortgagee—'*notwithstanding a long practice might be urged in favour of it.*' The court did not then decide this point, as the plaintiff failed on other grounds. But in the case of *Drinkwater* vs. *Drinkwater*, 4 *Mass. Rep.* 354, the court decided against an administrator's right to support such action. The absurd practice mentioned by Judge Parsons could never have existed after 1758, had the decision of that year been made known through the medium of reports.

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* Brook's Reading is not mentioned in Reed's 'Complete Catalogue of Law Books.'

We have room left only for a few remarks upon the manner in which the reporter has executed his duties, in the volume before us.

Mr. Tyng's reputation has long been established, and no one can justly say that this volume shows any relaxation of his diligence or failure of his accustomed accuracy. We have ever believed that the method of reporting, which Douglas prescribed for himself, and so successfully pursued, is the best that can be devised. We are aware that others, whose judgment is entitled to great respect, entertain a different opinion. Some would wholly exclude the arguments of counsel—and some would have them stated at length. Some would have a full copy of the pleadings, and make our reports, like those of Saunders and Lutwyche, a book of entries, as well as decisions. Others wish for nothing but the mere point decided, omitting statements either of arguments or of the reasoning of the court,—in the manner of many cases in Brownlow and Strange. Mr. Tyng, in the different volumes which he has published, has afforded us some little variety in these respects. But we decidedly approve of the method *generally* adopted in the present volume—which is, to give a succinct statement of the facts agreed, or stated in pleading—the points made and authorities cited at the bar—and the opinion of the court at full length.

Before Lord Mansfield came upon the bench, the judges in England generally gave their opinions seriatim. While he presided in the Kings Bench, the opinion of the whole court was generally pronounced by him—especially in cases where any time was taken for advisement. Lords Camden, Wilmot and Loughborough frequently did the same in the Common Pleas. The old practice is resumed in England,—but we are happy that it has not been adopted by the judges of our court. In Connecticut, where the Court of Errors consists of nine judges, the legislature have required that each one of them shall give his opinion and the reasons of it, on all questions that are decided by them. We hope their reporter is not required to publish so much tautology as this must unavoidably produce. One judge can state the opinion formed and the reasons suggested for it in joint consultation, in a manner much more beneficial to the hearer and reader, than would be the separate opinion of each.

We infer from the appearance of the English reports for the last fifteen years, that the judges do not write their opinions,—(at least, that the reporter receives no written opinions from them,) and that in most cases, they deliver them as soon as the argument is closed—without private consultation. It is said of Lord Hale, by Bishop Burnet, that 'he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the judges in the same court could never perceive it; his reason was, because every judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or deference to another man's opinion.' We would by no means wish judges to renounce their persuasion and conscience, from respect or deference to each other. Consultation, however, has no such tendency—and we think the effect, which the biographer of Lord Hale so boastfully ascribes to his opinions when delivered, would have been produced much more decently, and to better public purpose, at the judge's chambers, than in open court. 'It happened sometimes', says Burnet, 'that when all the barons of the Exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons and arguments, yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him.' We presume nothing of this sort is now witnessed in England—a few instances of a similar occurrence would in these days, inevitably destroy the reputation and usefulness of any court.

When the opinion of the court is not written, it is impossible for the most scrupulously careful reporter always to state it correctly. Besides, expressions will escape the most accurate judge, when pronouncing an opinion *ore tenus,* which he would never commit to writing. A principle may be advanced as universal, which is only general—what is correct only in a qualified sense, may be stated absolutely, or without noticing the qualification. Between the mistakes of the judge and the reporter, a thousand errors creep into the books, and a thousand unnecessary suits are the consequence. We cannot, therefore, too much commend the *general* practice of our Supreme Judicial Court, in writing the opinions they deliver, and handing them over to the reporter. It is for the benefit of the profession and of the Commonwealth—and for the present and future honour of the judges themselves. Whoever has read the opinions of Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, published from his manuscripts since his death, and compared them with those reported by Wilson, Amblen and Blackstone—or the account, given by the Attorney General of the United States, of the opinion pronounced by Lord Mansfield, in the case of *The King* vs. *Wilkes*—and reported by Burrow—will not wish us to say any thing further in favour of written opinions, except to intimate a hope that the practice, which is now general, may become universal.

It will occur to every professional man, that the instances, in which our court have had occasion to deny, question or qualify any dictum of theirs as reported, have been in cases where the reporter has stated the point under a 'per curiam.' We believe there are some further corrections yet to be made in cases similarly stated. It is surprising that more inaccuracies do not appear, for the reasons above stated. It is beyond the reach of human correctness, accurately and fully to state a volume of cases, in which no written opinion is furnished by the court,—if any thing further than a statement of the judgment is attempted.

A very few deficiencies and errors in the present volume will now be suggested.

In the case of *Reed and wife* vs. *Borland,* p. 208, it does not appear from the statement made by the reporter, that the will in question contained any disposition of lands, tenements or hereditaments. This fact is to be inferred from the argument of the respondent's counsel—and from the marginal note of the point decided. For if this fact did not exist, there could have been no question to decide, of the nature which must have been before the court in that case.

In the case of *Hall* vs. *Little*, the court are reported to have said, that 'the expressions of the English statute of limitations are like those of ours.' The difference we have before stated.

The court say, in the case of *Webster* vs. *Coffin*, p. 199, that in *Knap* vs. *Sprague*, 9 *Mass. Rep.* 258, 'the constable was not liable, on account of the first attachment, because execution was not sued out within thirty days from the judgment.'—This does not appear in the report of that case.

In *Williams* vs. *Root*, p. 275, the court are reported to have said, that the words *justification* or *excuse* in the statute of 1783, cap. 42, § 7, 'mean *every* matter which may bar the plaintiff's right to recover, whether requiring a special plea by the common law or not.' This is too general and broad an expression to be used since the decision of *Holmes* vs. *Wood*, 6 *Mass. Rep.* 1.

Critical examiners will find several little inaccuracies, which we have not mentioned.

The reporter intimated, in the advertisement prefixed to the twelfth volume, that 'some of the decisions of a less important character' would probably be omitted in future, for the purpose of making room for the substance of the arguments at the bar, in those that should be reported. It appears from three distinct references made by the court in this volume, to former decisions, that omissions have been made accordingly. And the second point of evidence, which we have stated above, is understood not to have been first decided in *Murphy's* case. We do not object to the omission of cases which are of little importance—but we fairly derive an additional argument in favour of publishing the reports, from the fact that four questions were raised in 1817, which would have slept, had the former decisions been published.

We have only to repeat that the method adopted by the reporter, in this volume, is in our opinion preferable to any which he has before taken, and that we believe it to be the best which he can pursue. We trust the profession and the Commonwealth will long enjoy and properly appreciate the labours of Mr. Tyng. 'But,' as is said in the preface to Ley's Reports, 'the usefulnes of the booke will better appear by itselfe, then any thing we can say for it. Read and be your owne judges. We speake to such as are ingenious and candid.'

Art. IX.—*An Essay on American Poetry, with several Miscellaneous Pieces on a variety of subjects, Sentimental, Descriptive, Moral, and Patriotic. By Solyman Brown, A. M.* New Haven, Flagg & Gray, 1818. W. C. Bryant

Of the poetry of the United States different opinions have been entertained, and prejudice on the one side, and partiality on the other, have equally prevented a just and rational estimate of its merits. Abroad, our literature has fallen under unmerited contumely, from those who were but slenderly acquainted with the subject on which they professed to decide; and at home, it must be confessed, that the swaggering and pompous pretensions of many have done not a little to provoke and excuse the ridicule of foreigners. Either of these extremes exerts an injurious influence on the cause of letters in our country. To encourage exertion and embolden merit to come forward, it is necessary that they should be acknowledged and rewarded—few will have the confidence to solicit what has been withheld from claims as strong as theirs, or the courage to tread a path which presents no prospect but the melancholy wrecks of those who have gone before them. National gratitude—national pride—every high and generous feeling that attaches us to the land of our birth, or that exalts our characters as individuals, ask of us that we should foster the infant literature of our country, and that genius and industry, employing their efforts to hasten its perfection, should receive, from our hands, that celebrity which reflects as much honour on the nation which confers it as on those to whom it is extended. On the other hand, it is not necessary for these purposes—it is even detrimental to bestow on mediocrity the praise due to excellence, and still more so is the attempt to persuade ourselves and others into an admiration of the faults of favourite writers. We make but a contemptible figure in the eyes of the world, and set ourselves up as objects of pity to our posterity, when we affect to rank the poets of our own country with those mighty masters of song who have flourished in Greece, Italy and Britain. Such extravagant admiration may spring from a praise-worthy and patriotic motive, but it seems to us that it defeats its own object of encouraging our literature, by seducing those, who would aspire to the favour of the public, into an imitation of imperfect models, and leading them to rely too much on the partiality of their countrymen to overlook their deficiencies. Were our rewards to be bestowed only on what is intrinsically meritorious, merit alone would have any apology for appearing before the public. The poetical adventurer should be taught that it is only the productions of genius, taste, and diligence that can find favour at the bar of criticism—that his writings are not to be applauded merely because they are written by an American, and are not decidedly bad; and that he must produce some more satisfactory evidence of his claim to celebrity than an extract from the parish register. To show him what we expect of him, it is as necessary to point out the faults of his predecessors, as to commend their excellencies. He must be taught, as well what to avoid, as what to imitate. This is the only way of diffusing and preserving a pure taste, both among those who read and those who write, and, in our opinion, the only way of affording merit a proper and effectual encouragement.

It must however be allowed, that the poetry of the United States, though it has not reached that perfection to which some other countries have carried theirs, is yet even better than we could have been expected to produce, considering that our nation has scarcely seen two centuries since the first of its founders erected their cabins on its soil, that our literary institutions are yet in their infancy, and that our citizens are just beginning to find leisure to attend to intellectual refinement and indulge in intellectual luxury, and the means of rewarding intellectual excellence. For the first century after the settlement of this country, the few quaint and unskilful specimens of poetry which yet remain to us, are looked upon merely as objects of curiosity, are preserved only in the cabinet of the antiquary, and give little pleasure, if read without reference to the age and people which produced them. A purer taste began after this period to prevail—the poems of the Rev. John Adams, written in the early part of the eighteenth century, which have been considered as no bad specimen of the poetry of his time, are tolerably free from the faults of the generation that preceded him, and show the dawnings of an ambition of correctness and elegance. The poetical writings of Joseph Green, Esq. who wrote about the middle of the same century, have been admired for their humour and the playful ease of their composition.

But, previous to the contest which terminated in the independence of the United States, we can hardly be said to have had any national poetry. Literary ambition was not then frequent amongst us—there was little motive for it, and few rewards. We were contented with considering ourselves as participating in the literary fame of that nation, of which we were a part, and of which many of us were natives, and aspired to no separate distinction. And indeed we might well lay an equal claim, with those who remained on the British soil, to whatever glory the genius and learning as well as the virtue and bravery of other times reflected on the British name. These were qualities which ennobled our common ancestors; and though their graves were not with us, and we were at a distance from the scenes and haunts which were hallowed by their deeds, their studies, and their contemplations, yet we brought with us, and preserved all the more valuable gifts which they left to their posterity and to mankind—their illumination—their piety—their spirit of liberty—reverence for their memory and example and all the proud tokens of a generous descent.

Yet here was no theatre for the display of literary talent—the worshippers of fame could find no altars erected to that divinity in America, and he who would live by his pen must seek patronage in the parent country. Some men of taste and learning amongst us, might occasionally amuse their leisure with poetical trifles, but a country struggling with the difficulties of colonization, and possessing no superfluous wealth, wanted any other class of men rather than poets. Accordingly we find the specimens of American poetry, before this period, mostly desultory and occasional—rare and delicate exotics, cultivated only by the curious.

On our becoming an independent empire, a different spirit began to manifest itself, and the general ambition to distinguish ourselves as a nation was not without its effect on our literature. It seems to us, that it is from this time only that we can be said to have poets of our own, and from this period it is that we must date the origin of American poetry. About this time, flourished Francis Hopkinson, whose humorous ballad, entitled the Battle of the Kegs, is in most of our memories, and some of whose attempts, though deficient in vigour, are not inelegant. The keen and forcible invectives of Dr. Church, which are still recollected by his contemporaries, received an additional edge and sharpness from the exasperated feelings of the times. A writer in verse of inferiour note was Philip Freneau, whose pen seems to have been chiefly employed on political subjects, and whose occasional productions, distinguished by a coarse strength of sarcasm, and abounding with allusions to passing events, which is perhaps their greatest merit, attracted in their time considerable notice, and in the year 1786 were collected into a volume. But the influence of that principle which awoke and animated the exertions of all who participated in the political enthusiasm of that time, was still more strongly exemplified in the Connecticut poets—Trumbull, Dwight, Barlow, Humphreys, and Hopkins—who began to write about this period. In all the productions of these authors, there is a pervading spirit of *nationality* and patriotism—a desire to reflect credit on the country to which they belonged, which seems, as much as individual ambition, to have prompted their efforts, and which at times gives a certain glow and interest to their manner.

McFingal, the most popular of the writings of the former of these poets, first appeared in the year 1782. This pleasant satire on the adherents of Britain in those times, may be pronounced a tolerably successful imitation of the great work of Butler—though, like every other imitation of that author, it wants that varied and inexhaustible fertility of allusion, which made all subjects of thought—the lightest and most abstruse parts of learning—every thing in the physical and moral world—in art or nature, the playthings of his wit. The work of Trumbull cannot be much praised for the purity of its diction. Yet perhaps great scrupulousness in this particular was not consistent with the plan of the author, and, to give the scenes of his poem their full effect, it might have been thought necessary to adopt the familiar dialect of the country and the times. We think his Progress of Dulness a more pleasing poem, as more finished, and more perfect in its kind, and though written in the same manner, more free from the constraint and servility of imitation. The graver poems of Trumbull contain some vigorous and animated declamation.

Of Dr. Dwight we would speak with all the respect due to talents, to learning, to piety, and a long life of virtuous usefulness—but we must be excused from feeling any high admiration of his poetry. It seems to us modelled upon a manner altogether too artificial and mechanical. There is something strained, violent, and out of nature, in all his attempts. His Conquest of Canaan will not secure immortality to its author. In this work the author has been considered by some as by no means happy in the choice of his fable—however this may be, he has certainly failed to avail himself of the advantages it offered him—his epic wants the creations and colourings of an inventive and poetical fancy—the charm, which, in the hands of genius, communicates an interest to the simplest incidents, and something of the illusion of reality to the most improbable fictions. The versification is remarkable for its unbroken monotony. Yet it contains splendid passages, which, separated from the body of the work, might be admired, but a few pages pall both on the ear and the imagination. It has been urged in its favor that the writer was young—the poetry of his maturer years does not however seem to possess greater beauties or fewer faults. The late Mr. Dennie at one time exerted his ingenuity to render this poem popular with his countrymen; in the year 1800 he published, in the Farmer's Museum, a paper printed at Walpole, of which he was the editor, a series of observations and criticisms on the Conquest of Canaan, after the manner of Addison in those numbers of the Spectator which made Milton a favourite with the English people. But this attempt did not meet with success—the work would not sell, and loads of copies yet cumber the shelves of our booksellers. In the other poems of Dr. Dwight, which are generally obnoxious to the same criticisms, he sometimes endeavours to descend to a more familiar style, and entertains his reader with laborious attempts at wit, and here he is still unsuccessful. Parts of his Greenfield Hill, and that most unfortunate of his productions, the Triumph of Infidelity, will confirm the truth of this remark.

Barlow, when he began to write, was a poet of no inconsiderable promise. His Hasty Pudding, one of his earliest productions, is a good specimen of mock-heroic poetry, and his Vision of Columbus, at the time of its first appearance, attracted much attention and was hailed as an earnest of better things. It is no small praise to say, that when appointed by the General Assembly of Churches in Connecticut, to revise Watts' Version of the Psalms, and to versify such as were omitted in that work, he performed the task in a manner which made a near approach to the simplicity and ease of that poet, who, according to Dr. Johnson, 'has done better than any body else what nobody has done well.' In his maturer years, Barlow became ambitious of distinguishing himself and doing honour to his country, by some more splendid and important exertion of his talents, and, for this purpose, projected a national epic, in which was sung the Discovery of America, the successful struggle of the states in the defence of their liberties, and the exalted prospects which were opening before them. It is to be regretted that a design, so honourable and so generously conceived, should have failed. In 1807 appeared the Columbiad, which was his poem of the Vision of Columbus, much enlarged, and with such variations as the feelings and reflections of his riper age and judgment led him to make. The Columbiad is not, in our opinion, so pleasing a poem, in its present form, as in that in which it was originally written. The plan of the work is utterly destitute of interest, and that, which was at first sufficiently wearisome, has become doubly so by being drawn out to its present length. Nor are the additions of much value, on account of the taste in which they are composed. Barlow, in his later poetry, attempted to invigorate his style, but instead of drawing strength and salubrity, from the pure wells of ancient English, he corrupted and debased it with foreign infusions. The imposing but unchaste glitter, which distinguished the manner of Darwin and his imitators, appears likewise to have taken strong hold on his fancy, and he has not scrupled to bestow on his poem much of this meretricious decoration. But notwithstanding the bad taste in which his principal work is composed—notwithstanding he cannot be said to write with much pathos, or many of the native felicities of fancy, there is yet enough, in the poetry of Mr. Barlow to prove, that, had he fixed his eye on purer models, he might have excelled, not indeed in epic or narrative poetry, nor in the delineation of passion and feeling, but in that calm, lofty, sustained style, which suits best with topics of morality and philosophy, and for which the vigour and spirit of his natural manner, whenever he permits it to appear, shew him to have been well qualified.

Humphreys was a poet of humbler pretensions. His writings, which were first collected in 1790, are composed in a better taste than those of the two last, and if he has less genius, he has likewise fewer faults. Some of his lighter pieces are sufficiently pretty. He is most happy when he aims at nothing beyond an elegant mediocrity, and to do him justice this is generally the extent of his ambition. On the whole, he may be considered as sustaining a respectable rank among the poets of our country.

A writer of a different cast from those we have mentioned, and distinguished by a singular boldness of imagination, as well as great humour, was Dr. Samuel Hopkins, who, in 1786, and the year following, in conjunction with Trumbull, Barlow, and Humphreys, and other wits of that time, wrote the Anarchiad, a satire, on a plan similar to that of the Rolliad, which appeared in the New Haven Gazette of those years, and of which the mildest parts are attributed to him. He was likewise author of the Speech of Hesper, and some smaller poems, which have been praised for their wit. There is a coarseness and want of polish in his style; and his imagination, daring and original, but unrestrained by a correct judgment, often wanders into absurdities and extravagances. Still, if he had all the madness, he must be allowed to have possessed some of the inspiration of poetry.

One material error of taste pervades the graver productions of these authors, into which it should seem they were led by copying certain of the poets of England, who flourished near the period in which they began to write. It was their highest ambition to attain a certain lofty, measured, declamatory manner—an artificial elevation of style, from which it is impossible to rise or descend without abruptness and violence, and which allows just as much play and freedom to the faculties of the writer as a pair of stilts allows the body. The imagination is confined to one trodden circle, doomed to the chains of a perpetual mannerism, and condemned to tinkle the same eternal tune with its fetters. Their versification, though not eqally exceptionable in all, is formed upon the same stately model of balanced and wearisome regularity. Another fault, which arises naturally enough out of the peculiar style which we have imputed to these poets, is the want of pathos and feeling in their writings—the heart is rarely addressed, and never with much power or success. Amidst this coldness of manner, sameness of imagery and monotony of versification, the reader lays down his book, dazzled and fatigued.

In 1800 appeared the poems of William Clifton, who fell at the age of twenty seven, a victim to that scourge of our climate which ceases not to waste when other diseases are sated—the pulmonary consumption. There is none of our American poetry, on which we dwell with more pleasure, mingled indeed with regret at the untimely fate of the writer, than these charming remains. Amidst many of the immature effusions of his greener years, and unfinished productions which were never meant to meet the eye of the world, there are to be found specimens of poetry, not only more delicate, classical and polished, but more varied in imagery, and possessing more of that flexibility of style of the want of which in others we have complained, and more faithful to nature and the feelings, than it has often been our lot to meet with, in the works of our native poets. In his later and more finished productions, his diction is refined to an unusual degree of purity, and through this lucid medium the creations of his elegant fancy appear with nothing to obscure their loveliness.

Several respectable additions have been made to the mass of American poetry by Mr. Alsop. His monody on the death of Washington was admired at the time of its appearance. The public is likewise indebted to him for a version of the poem of Silius Italicus on the Punic war, and another of the Second Canto of Berni's Orlando Inamorato. Often elegant, but occasionally relapsing into feebleness and languor, his poetry is that of a man of correct and cultivated taste, but of no very fervid genius, nor bending the faculties of his mind with much intensity to the work in which he was engaged.

The posthumous works of St. John Honeywood, Esq. were published in the year 1801. These modest remains, the imperfect but vigorous productions of no common mind, have not been noticed as they deserved. They contain many polished and nervous lines.

We should not expect to be easily pardoned, were we to pass by the writings of a poet who enjoyed, during his life time, so extensive a popularity as the late Mr. Paine. The first glow of admiration, which the splendid errors of his manner excited in the public, is now over, and we can calmly estimate his merits and defects. He must be allowed to have possessed an active and fertile fancy. Even in the misty obscurity, which often shrouds his conceptions not only from the understanding of the reader, but, it should seem, from that of the writer himself, there sometimes break out glimpses of greatness and majesty. Yet with a force and exuberance of imagination which, if soberly directed, might have gained him the praise of magnificence, he is perpetually wandering in search of conceits and extravagances. He is ambitious of the epigrammatic style, and often bewilders himself with attempts to express pointedly what he does not conceive clearly. More instances of the false sublime might perhaps be selected from the writings of this poet, than from those of any other of equal talents, who lived in the same period. The brilliancy of Paine's poetry is like the brilliancy of frost-work—cold and fantastic. Who can point out the passage in his works, in which he speaks to the heart in its own language? He was a fine, but misguided genius.

With respect to the prevailing style of poetry, at the present day, in our country, we apprehend that it will be found, in too many instances, tinged with a sickly and affected imitation of the peculiar manner of some of the late popular poets of England. We speak not of a disposition to emulate whatever is beautiful and excellent in their writings,—still less would we be understood as intending to censure that sort of imitation which, exploring all the treasures of English poetry, culls from all a diction, that shall form a natural and becoming dress for the conceptions of the writer,—this is a course of preparation which every one ought to go through before he appears before the public—but we desire to set a mark on that servile habit of copying, which adopts the vocabulary of some favourite author, and apes the fashion of his sentences, and cramps and forces the ideas into a shape, which they would not naturally have taken, and of which the only recommendation is, not that it is most elegant or most striking, but that it bears some resemblance to the manner of him who is proposed as a model. This way of writing has an air of poverty and meanness—it seems to indicate a paucity of reading as well as perversion of taste—it might almost lead us to suspect that the writer had but one or two examples of poetical composition in his hands, and was afraid of expressing himself, except according to some formula which they might contain—and it ever has been, and ever will be, the resort of those who are sensible that their works need some factitious recommendation, to give them even a temporary popularity.

We have now given a brief summary of what we conceived to be the characteristic merits and defects of our most celebrated American poets. Some names, of which we are not at present aware, equally deserving of notice with those whom we have mentioned, may have been omitted—some we have passed over, because we would not willingly disturb their passage to that oblivion, towards which, to the honour of our country, they are hastening—and some elegant productions of later date we have not commented on, because we were unwilling to tire our readers with a discussion which they may think already exhausted.

On the whole there seems to be more good taste among those who read, than those who write poetry in our country. With respect to the poets whom we have enumerated, and whose merits we have discussed, we think the judgment pronounced on their works by the public will be found, generally speaking, just. They hold that station in our literature to which they are entitled, and could hardly be admired more than they are, without danger to the taste of the nation. We know of no instance in which great poetical merit has come forward, and finding its claims unallowed, been obliged to retire to the shade from which it emerged. Whenever splendid talents of this description shall appear, we believe that there will be found a disposition to encourage and reward them. The fondness for literature is fast increasing in our country—and if this were not the case, the patrons of literature have multiplied, of course, and will continue to multiply with the mere growth of our population. The popular English works of the day are reprinted in our country—they are dispersed all over the union—they are to be found in every body's hands—they are made the subject of every body's conversation. What should hinder our native works, if equal in merit, from meeting an equally favourable reception ?

We suppose that Mr. Brown would not think himself greatly obliged to us, were we to say nothing of the book whose title we have placed at the head of this article. He has come before the public, it seems, with the laudable purpose of rescuing the poetical reputation of his countrymen from the calumnies of foreigners, not only by a zealous defence of their poetry, but by the examples which he gives the world of his own. In a strange sort of preface to the volume, after saying a great deal about Greece and Rome, he accuses the British ministry of having endeavoured to detract from the literary character of the people of the United States, for the purpose of discouraging the emigration of the subjects of that kingdom to this country. We cannot afford any extracts from this curious production, but pass on to that part of the volume which is in verse. The principal poem in the collection is the Essay on American Poetry, in which, after beginning, as in his preface, with something about Greece and Rome, he takes up the gauntlet against the Reviewers of Great Britain—the Scotch Reviewers in particular, against whom he inveighs with peculiar bitterness. Why all this gall towards the Scotch Reviewers, we cannot imagine, especially if he alludes, as is probable, to the writers of the Edinburgh Review, whose opinions concerning our nation we have ever considered as more liberal than those of most of their brethren, and who must be allowed, by all who have read the article in that work on the subject of Peace with America, written not long before the close of the late war—a composition, which we might defy any American to read, without a glow of national exultation—to have done ample justice to all the honourable and generous traits of our character. The author proceeds to introduce the Genius of Columbia, a personage who has so often appeared in our poetry—not to speak of innumerable patriotic songs and the like, where she is employed as a convenient piece of standing pageantry—that we must confess her company has, with us, grown a little stale. The following lines however, on this common subject, in no very difficult style of composition, nor putting the author to the perplexity of much thought or invention, we think the best in the volume.

'High on a sapphire throne, in royal state,
The guardian Genius of Columbia sat;
Suspended arms adorn the spacious Hall;
The star decked banner floats along the wall;
The tombs of sleeping worthies rise around,
And silence treads the consecrated ground.
Across the harp her graceful arms she flings,
And all her "flying fingers kiss the strings."
Of heroes, long she sung, in battle slain,
While ravished mortals listened to her strain;
She told the deeds their warrior-hands had done,
Their toils encountered and their laurels won.'

Into the mouth of this Genius he puts a profuse panegyric on the poets of America—in particular on his three favourites, Dwight, Barlow, and Paine, who, in the opinion of Mr. Brown, are destined to shine forth in all the splendour of immortality, when the mists of malice and prejudice shall have passed away. The work concludes with an address to the nine Muses, whom, to shew his familiarity with ancient learning, he summons before him one by one, calls each of them by name, tells her what are her proper attributes and province, and what he expects her to do. In the following line he lets us still farther into the secret of the extent of his classical attainments.

'And sportive *Thalia!* Mirth's facetious queen.'

Till we read the work of Mr. Brown, we had supposed, that in the word Thalia, the accent should be placed on the second syllable. But what will be said to such a startling outrage on all quantity and pronunciation as the following.

‘Thou, *Terpsichore*, the mazy dance shalt lead.’

To the Essay on American Poetry succeeds a variety of miscellaneous poems, to which is prefixed the following singular advertisement.

‘In the following *fugitives*, it has been the express design of the author to cultivate variety. He has introduced between forty and fifty different kinds of measure—not only to relieve the reader, but also to exemplify the most approved diversities of English metre. Several species of verse have been necessarily omitted, lest the volume should exceed its intended size.’

So that we may now add to our other literary boasts, that we have American poetry of every kind of metre! We have sentimental poetry too, and moral poetry, and descriptive poetry, and patriotic poetry—all the offspring of the prolific genius of Mr. Brown, as we are told in the title page. At first, we thought this rather an extraordinary division of poetry into its different kinds, but in the writings of Mr. Brown they are easily distinguishable from one another. The reader shall have a taste of each. For a specimen of his sentimental poetry—

‘If Valentine Day
Should not vanquish the charmer,
The love-kindling May,
Will surely disarm her.
This Damon found,
And Cynthia too, who felt the wound.

Of music, now, no more let Poets tell,
Since Love can wield a more effective dart—
Though that possess a magic spell
This wins a Maiden’s heart.’

Of his moral poetry the reader must content himself with the following sample.

‘Britannia shall know,
That Columbia’s foe
Shall e’er in the slumbers of Death be laid low.’

The instances which we intend to present the reader of his talents at description, are taken from his Essay on American Poetry.

‘Where meets the orient sun a lovelier scene
Than in Columbia's fields of vernal green?
And where does Cynthia spread her midnight vision
O'er lands so like the fabled fields Elysian?’

And again,

‘Pile Alps on Appenines and o'er the whole,
Let Atlas rise to fright the astonished soul;
When Chimborazo looks through tempests down,
The mole hill crumbles at his Gothic frown.

His patriotic poetry the reader may see exemplified in the following lines.

‘And while the world shall stand,
Or oceans lave the shore,
Or naval thunders roar,
Macdonough's splendid victory
To Englismen shall teach, though never taught before,
That strange as it may be,
While others conquered them by land,
He vanquished them *at sea!*’

To these precious effusions are appended a few notes, which contain a great deal of such interesting information as the following. ‘This immense body of fresh water, (Lake Superior,) the largest in the world, is 1600 miles in circumference,’ &c. ‘Chimborazo, the highest elevation of land on the globe, is nearly under the equator in South America,’ &c. ‘Whether the Mammoth, whose bones were found on the banks of the Ohio and its branches, were the Leviathan of Scripture or not, he is the largest animal of whom we have any account,’ &c. &c. &c. The patriotic song by Dr. Dwight, beginning with

Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise!

and Paine's Adams and Liberty, are inserted among the notes to the work, not, we presume, for the sake of the present age, for these very popular poems have been printed a hundred different times, and have been read and quoted and sung so often that almost every body has them by heart; but for the benefit of posterity, to whom the works of Mr. Brown will probably descend, when those of Dwight and Paine are forgotten. Lord Byron's pathetic Farewell to his Wife is likewise added, as is facetiously observed, ‘for the *amusement* of the reader.’ We will not dwell any longer on this work. Mr. Brown has fallen into a great mistake in thinking himself qualified to write a book. In the present instance, with talents of a very humble order, he has assumed a very pompous tone, and made a great parade of small acquisitions.

ART. X.—*The Speeches of Charles Phillips, Esquire, delivered at the Bar and on various public occasions in Ireland and England. Edited by himself.* New York, published by Kirk & Mercein, 1817.

THE oratory of every people depends so essentially upon their institutions, form of government, education, manners, associations, and other peculiarities, and must be so materially affected, and modified, by any change in these, that we might less expect to find a difference of opinion, and of taste, on this subject, among well informed persons of the same nation, and the same period, than upon almost any other whatever. We are however mistaken in this. Notwithstanding the admirable specimens of oratory, which have been furnished in latter times, by the British parliament and the British bar, there seems to be a very common though loose opinion, that this art comes far short of its former perfection. Their early classical associations, we should think, had provided many persons with such extravagant and incorrect notions on this head, as to prevent them from estimating without prejudice the real excellencies of modern oratory, and from forming a just opinion of the character it has necessarily taken from the present state of society. Century has followed century since the decline of the ancient republics—the world has improved and continues daily to improve in the knowledge of government, of manners, of science, and of all the useful arts—but we still look back with admiration and regret to those states as alike the school and the mausoleum of eloquence. The Pitts, the Mansfields, the Sheridans, the Burkes, the Currans, and Erskines have indeed done much to revive the fallen spirits of those, who had feared that the damps and chills of the dark ages had extinguished forever the flame of eloquence ; but even they, it is said, have attempted in vain to equal the masters who so long ago preceded them. The body and substance of oratory is thought still to remain,—all that is argumentative and weighty and practical,—but that excitement of the passions, that stir of the imagination, that intoxication of the feelings, which carried every thing before them, which blinded and confounded the mind, and set at defiance all argument and reason and right, are now wanting. Many who lamented this deficiency, could perceive its just causes, and believed that the stricter forms of government of these times presented an insurmountable obstacle to the advancement of this species of eloquence.

Upon the establishment of the free governments of the United States, these lovers of ancient oratory turned their eyes to America with renewed hopes and expectations, that this was the field in which eloquence was again to assert her power, and triumph anew in all her former splendour,—they thought, and it was plausible too, that where every thing was to be directed by the will of the people, the direction of all things would fall at once into the hands of orators,—that where the highest offices of government, and the places of most honour and profit, were alike open to all classes of citizens, ambition would have its widest range, and associate itself with the hopes and plans of every individual,—that under such circumstances, eloquence would meet with all the facilities and encouragement it had ever before enjoyed, and could hardly fail of attaining to its highest perfection. But here these speculatists have again been disappointed; so far from rivalling past ages in this art, we are said to imitate but feebly the best models of the present. We are thought to be too dull, or too business-like, to be capable of that extensive acquirement, that delicate taste, and, more than all, that inspiring enthusiasm, which eloquence calls for.

It is however a matter of some consolation to us, that the objections made to our style of oratory, are not, that it is deficient in good sense, in sound argument, or apt illustration, but on the contrary, that it depends too much on these; that it is forgetful of the power of the passions, the influence of the imagination, and the frequent weakness of the judgment,—that it supposes such qualities of mind in its hearers, as mixed audiences never possess, a power of fixed attention to dry, unadorned reasoning, and a patient investigation of unembellished facts; that it therefore comes to be cold, and lifeless, and uninteresting, and altogether wanting in that sublimity, and fascination, and irresistible spirit, which go to form the character of true oratory.

But for all the perfect understanding, we think we have, of the excellencies of ancient oratory, and of the difference between that and the oratory of the present day and of this country, we are nevertheless far from believing, that this art is likely to become extinct among us, or has even fallen to decay.

The love of power is among the strongest, and most influential of the passions,—it is displayed during the earliest periods of childhood, and continues to develop itself and to strengthen to the end of life. No form of social compact can be devised, in which some of the parties to it do not take the lead, and influence and control the opinions and conduct of the rest, nor can any two individuals be so situated together as that one shall not gain an ascendancy, however silently and imperceptibly, over the other. In all free governments, eloquence affords one of the most certain and most honourable means of attaining to this power,—and whilst the structure of the human mind and the influence of human passions continue as they now are, we need indulge little fear that eloquence and the art of oratory will be lost, however much they may be affected and modified by the prevailing institutions and spirit of the times. But it strikes us that these proselytes to excitement and sound make a great mistake, in looking to the ancient orators for the support of their theory. There is indeed a prevailing notion, that the oratory of Greece and Rome was particularly characterized by its address to the passions. If it is only meant by this, that the nature of their governments, and the habits and manners of the people, and the peculiar taste of the age, made the passions and the imagination better mediums of appeal to the understanding than they now are, we think so too. But if it is to be understood, that the efficacy of sound and sober argument, and deep thought, and chaste, unimpassioned language, were little valued—as inadequate to reach the understanding and to influence the will even of wise and learned men, —we are of a very different mind, and we can find nothing in the works of these orators to justify such an opinion. We have always viewed the orations of Cicero as the finest specimens of ingenious and powerful argument, as well as of elegant diction, and of eloquent appeal to the fancy and feelings, and we well know that he was by no means esteemed the chastest of their speakers, but on the contrary was condemned by many as running too much into the Asiatic, or effeminate style.

But we conceive that these persons make a much greater mistake, and one of many more evil consequences, in supposing that the institutions of this country are of a nature to revive and foster that species of eloquence, be it what it may; much more the florid, ornamented, artificial kind which they delight in. They appear to forget, that the different relative situations of the several nations of the world, their greater equality with regard to civilization and improvement, the balance of power which is so jealously attended to, and the change in laws and manners, and in theories respecting government, have caused a republic of those times and the present, to resemble each other in little more than name,—and that the peculiar origin and structure of this republic in particular, have rendered the difference still more striking and material.

The intricate and nicely adjusted machinery of modern societies requires, for their right conduct, a careful hand, and much and deep reflection, and no light weighing of principles and consequences; and when this machinery is to be tended and kept in operation by the people at large, their habits of mind come to be of no small importance; and it would be better to have them more fond of sound reasoning than pleasing declamation, more anxious for information than excitement.

We do not profess, however, to be over fearful of the progress of this false oratory amongst us. We believe, in the first place, that the middling classes, generally speaking, are by no means so easily captivated by declamation alone, as some imagine,—on many accounts, indeed, they are much less likely to be so, than those who are more refined, and of better education. They are but little sensible to the most appropriate use of words, the nice arrangement of sentences, and the elegancies of action. Their imaginations are less cultivated and less luxuriant, and they want that delicacy and various shade of feeling, which oratory of this sort is calculated to operate upon. To come near them, you must speak to their understandings in plain and intelligible language, or to their hearts by touching some natural feeling. But if we think this remark is generally true, we also think it, for a variety of reasons, particularly applicable to that class of persons in our own country.

The divisions of this country into so many independent commonwealths, and of these into districts, counties, towns and parishes, has created an immense number of offices, of more or less trust and importance, most of which are filled by the choice of the people. The importance which they necessarily derive from this general and equal right of suffrage, is continually kept alive by the frequency of these elections, and much enhanced by the existence of two contending political parties. Every man makes himself in some degree acquainted with the particular and separate interests of the state, town, and county to which he belongs, and of the United States generally—and is addressed frequently upon topics relating to them, by those who are interested to have him of their way of thinking on such subjects. Hence a spirit of proselytism, and a disposition for debate and argument, pervade the whole mass of the people, and every village, and every neighbourhood furnishes its orators,—the dullest rustic, who represents his town in the state assembly, and who hears in silence the debates that arise there, returns home to repeat the arguments he has collected in aid of his prejudices, and becomes an orator and an oracle, in town meetings and tavern circles. The concern which every one is thus permitted to take, not only in the affairs of his own village, but of the state, and the country generally, and the anxiety which is felt to subserve and strengthen party interests, disposes them to a soberness of thought, a carefulness of examination, and a pertinacity of opinion, which are not to be taken with light and tawdry declamation merely.

This taste for a serious and chaste style of oratory is very much induced too, and fixed, we think, by the weekly discourses which are delivered from our pulpits, at least throughout a large portion of the United States. Persons of no one persuasion being particularly favoured by our laws, and the selection of their pastors left entirely with the people, our divines have to depend for their settlement, and for the prevalence and popularity of their peculiar tenets, upon their own individual exertions and worth. They have in consequence become distinguished by their acquirements, and by their respectability and weight of character, and are more looked up to and confided in, than any other class of men. The model upon which they have fashioned their eloquence is far from the impassioned, and this cannot fail to give some tone to that of their hearers.

The eloquence of the bar, when confined to its own province, has but little influence upon public taste. And although,—where the practitioners of law are so often called upon, as they are here, to take part in the national concerns and counsels,—this influence must be very much extended, yet we have great confidence that the learning of our judges, the intelligence of our juries, and the increasing proficiency made in the science itself, will preserve and encourage that simple and legal mode of argument which now prevails generally in this part of the country.

In speaking of addresses to the passions and feelings and imagination, we would not be taken to undervalue, in the least, their importance. We believe, after all we have said, that even in these more rational and calculating times, the majority are governed much more by feeling, than by understanding; by passion, than reason. We are aware, that notwithstanding the changes which have taken place in the world, since the periods referred to as furnishing the best specimens of oratory,—the essential principles of human nature remain the same, that the passions of men continue to operate as before, that if much was to be effected by them then, much is to be effected by them now. It is about the manner, and the occasion and the means to be used in coming at them, that we dispute. It is, we think, by judging correctly of opportunities and of men, by well adapting his discourse to the subject and the audience, that an orator makes himself powerful. When an assembly is to be addressed, for purposes of pleasure only, and upon subjects disconnected with important interests, the speaker will do well to look to the choice of his words, and to the turning of his periods, and to the graceful arrangement of his sentences. When momentous questions of national welfare and general regard come under discussion, when dark and threatening appearances are gathering around, and the people have deserted their wonted employments, and are wandering about in uncertainty and dread, to catch the conjectures and forebodings of their neighbours,—or when unexpected and uncommon success has thrown its exhilarating influence upon them, and weakened whilst it warmed,—or when political contentions and party prejudices have heated and unbalanced their minds, you may then venture to attack their strongest passions in the boldest and most unguarded manner, for on such subjects, and under such circumstances, the mass of the community are the least informed and the most easily excited. But when we are brought to treat of their immediate, individual interests, and ordinary, every day concerns,—which, although of the greatest importance to those directly affected, have little in them to rouse the attention, or awaken the sympathy of others,—

we shall find that simple unembellished argument and plain good sense will operate by much the most successfully.

The fact we apprehend is,—however it may strike some minds,—that no art is less dependent upon education, or perhaps we had better say more dependent upon nature, than that of oratory. We believe that a man may as well think to obtain a new sense, or form an extra bodily organ, by study and acquirement, as to make himself an orator, in the true sense of the term, without bringing into the world with him the peculiar spirit and sentiment which enter so much into the groundwork of that character. Upon this, more than any thing else, rests the distinction between the mere declaimer and the orator.

We think ourselves exceedingly fortunate in meeting with a set of speeches so remarkably well adapted, as these of Mr. Phillips' are, to exemplify the kind of oratory we have attempted to describe. Without some evidence of this kind at hand to bear us out in our remarks, we should have feared that many of our readers would have been inclined to deny the existence of such a taste, or thought, at least, that our description had done injustice to it. We are also in some measure relieved of the anxiety we felt, from the encomiums bestowed on some newspaper extracts from them, lest they should become popular. We can hardly conceive that his greatest advocates will hold to their former opinion of him, after reading this volume.

It contains twelve speeches, which, with the exception of one, were delivered in Ireland, some of them at the Irish bar, and the others before different associations of gentlemen of information and taste. There are, besides these, a petition of the Roman Catholics to the House of Commons of Great Britain, drawn up by Mr. Phillips, an address to the Princess of Wales, and a character of Napoleon Buonaparte.—The faults in these speeches, if any, are not to be attributed to the mistakes and ignorance of unlettered chirographers, who minuted them down as they fell from the speaker, nor to their premature publication by partial friends, nor to a want of time for their due revision. They are edited by the orator himself, from his own minutes, of his own free will, at his own leisure, upon his own examination, and with every opportunity of emendation and correction he could wish, and they are put forth by his kind friend, who volunteers the preface, with the assertion, 'that the text of this volume is an acknowledged reference, to which future criticism may fairly resort, and from which his friends must deduce any title which the speaker may have created to the character of an orator.' It is also said, and we conclude with the editor's sanction, if not upon his authority, 'that the materials of this volume are at this moment read in all the languages of Europe,' and that his course of eloquence 'has procured for him within the last year, a larger number of readers through the world, than ever in the same time resorted to the productions of any man of these countries.' Taking then these representations for true,—and we ought not perhaps to doubt them, coming as they do from the author himself, who appears to be a remarkably modest, unassuming, disinterested sort of person,—we have here a fair specimen of this sort of oratory, and of its general prevalence in this the nineteenth century. The book commences with a speech delivered at a public dinner given to Mr. Finlay—the gentleman who professes to write the preface by the Roman Catholics in the town of Sligo. The character of the Catholic clergy is thus described in it.

'The Catholic clergy of Ireland are rare examples of the doctrines they inculcate. Pious in their habits, almost primitive in their manners, they have no care but their flock—no study but their Gospel. It is not in the gaudy ring of courtly dissipation that you will find the Murrays, the Coppingers, and the Moylans of the present day—not at the levee, or the lounge, or the election-riot. No; you will find them wherever good is to be done or evil to be corrected—rearing their mitres in the van of misery, consoling the captive, reforming the convict, enriching the orphan; ornaments of this world, and emblems of a better; preaching their God through the practice of every virtue; monitors at the confessional, apostles in the pulpit, saints at the death-bed, holding the sacred water to the lip of sin, or pouring the redeeming unction on the agonies of despair. Oh, I would hold him little better than the Promethean robber, who would turn the fire of their eternal altar into the impure and perishable mass of this world's preferment. Better by far that the days of ancient barbarism should revive—better that your religion should again take refuge among the fastnesses of the mountain, and the solitude of the cavern—better that the rack of a murderous bigotry should again terminate the miseries of your priesthood, and that the gate of freedom should be only open to them through the gate of martyrdom, than that they should gild their missals with the wages of a court, and expect their ecclesiastical promotion, not from their superior piety, but their comparative prostitution.' pp. 10, 11.

In a speech delivered at a meeting of the Roman Catholics of Cork, he thus speaks of a Mr. O'Connel, who seemed to be after a place—and of other Catholics who had obtained appointments by giving up their opinions.

'Surely, surely if merit had fair play, if splendid talents, if indefatigable industry, if great research, if unsullied principle, if a heart full of the finest affections, if a mind matured in every manly accomplishment, in short, if every noble, public quality, mellowed and reflected in the pure mirror of domestic virtue, could entitle a subject to distinction in a state, Mr. O'Connel should be distinguished ; but, it is his crime to be a Catholic, and his curse to be an Irishman. Simpleton ! he prefers his conscience to a place, and the love of his country to a participation in her plunder ! Indeed, he will never rise. If he joined the bigots of my sect, he might be a sergeant ; if he joined the infidels of your sect, he might enjoy a pension, and there is no knowing whether some Orange-corporator, on an Orange-anniversary, might not modestly yield him the precedence of giving "the glorious and immortal memory." Oh, yes, he might be privileged to get drunk in gratitude to the man who colonized ignorance in his native land, and left to his creed the legacy of legalized persecution. Nor would he stand alone, no matter what might be the measure of his disgrace, or the degree of his dereliction. You well know there are many of your own community who would leave him at the distance-post. In contemplating their recreancy, I should be almost tempted to smile at the exhibition of their pretensions, if there was not a kind of moral melancholy intermingled, that changed satire into pity, and ridicule into contempt. For my part, I behold them in the apathy of their servitude, as I would some miserable maniac in the contentment of his captivity.' pp. 20, 21.

Of the Pope he says,

'Have we not seen him, in one moment, his crown crumbled, his sceptre a reed, his throne a shadow, his home a dungeon ! But if we have, Catholics, it was only to show how inestimable is human virtue compared with human grandeur ; it was only to shew those whose faith was failing and whose fears were strengthening, that the simplicity of the patriarchs, the piety of the saints, and the patience of the martyrs, had not wholly vanished. Perhaps it was also ordained to show the bigot at home, as well as the tyrant abroad, that though the person might be chained, and the motive calumniated, religion was still strong enough to support her sons, and to confound, if she could not reclaim, her enemies. No threats could awe, no promises could tempt, no sufferings could appal him ; mid the damps of his dungeon he dashed away the cup in which the pearl of his liberty was to be dissolved. Only reflect on the state of the world at that moment! All around him was convulsed, the very foundations of the earth seemed giving way, the comet was let loose that "from its fiery hair shook pestilence and death," the twilight was gathering, the tempest was roaring, the darkness was at hand; but he towered sublime, like the last mountain in the deluge—majestic, not less in his elevation than in his solitude, immutable amid change, magnificent amid ruin, the last remnant of earth's beauty, the last resting-place of heaven's light! Thus have the terrors of the Vatican retreated; thus has that cloud which hovered o'er your cause brightened at once into a sign of your faith and an assurance of your victory.—Another obstacle, the omnipotence of France; I know it was a pretence, but it was made an obstacle—What has become of it? The spell of her invincibility destroyed, the spirit of her armies broken, her immense boundary dismembered, and the lord of her empire become the exile of a rock. She allows fancy no fear, and bigotry no speciousness; and, as if in the very operation of the change to point the purpose of your redemption, the hand that replanted the rejected lily was that of an *Irish Catholic.*' pp. 23, 24.

In a speech to the Roman Catholics at Dublin speaking of England;

'England, the ally of Catholic Portugal, the ally of Catholic Spain, the ally of Catholic France, the friend of the Pope! England, who seated a Catholic bigot in Madrid! who convoyed a Catholic Braganza to the Brazils! who enthroned a Catholic Bourbon in Paris! who guaranteed a Catholic establishment in Canada! who gave a constitution to Catholic Hanover! England, who searches the globe for Catholic grievances to redress, and Catholic Princes to restore, will not trust the Catholic at home, who spends his blood and treasure in her service!! Is this generous? Is this consistent? Is it just? Is it even politic? Is it the act of a wise country to fetter the energies of an entire population? Is it the act of a Christian country to do it in the name of God? Is it politic in a government to degrade part of the body by which it is supported, or pious to make Providence a party to their degradation? There are societies in England for discountenancing vice; there are Christian associations for distributing the Bible; there are volunteer missions for converting the heathen; but Ireland, the seat of their government, the stay of their empire, their associate by all the ties of nature and of interest; how has she benefited by the Gospel of which they boast?' p. 58.

These are some of the best and least exceptionable samples of our orator's style at dinner parties and Irish meetings—and they may be thought upon the whole not ill adapted to such occasions; indeed we can readily imagine that true Irish feeling, when well worked up either by an exaggerated notion of grievances, or by an extra bottle or two of champaign, would help much to carry off such harangues with some eclat. And we might be led to conclude, with others, that Mr. Phillips had wisely accommodated himself to the temper of his audience, had we any reason to suppose him one of your accommodating men; but this is far from his character. He is little inclined to sacrifice his own better judgment to the whims of his hearers, and whether addressing himself to a court of law, or mounted on a dinner table, he still preserves the same sublime and elevated strain. Open but in the middle of any of his compositions, whether petitions to the Princess, speeches at the bar, or harangues at club meetings—and you will do well to discover from any internal evidences either the subject or the occasion of them,—there is in all of them the same neglect of any thing like argument and common sense, the same continual and wearisome straining after high sounding expressions and striking antitheses and gorgeous imagery. He seems never by any chance to fall into a natural mode, either of thought or diction, and he would undoubtedly consider it the greatest fault he could be guilty of.

It is usual with most orators, however they may intend to put themselves forth in the course of their performance, to commence in a modest, unambitious manner, and rise into a more impassioned style in proportion only as the feelings of their audience become prepared for it. But not so with Mr. Phillips,—no sooner has he got out 'My Lords and Gentlemen,' than he steps up at once into the garden of fancy, and there lays about him most sturdily, seizing indiscriminately every flower he can lay his hand to, and hurling them down among his gaping hearers in such profusion and disorder, that it would puzzle even modern botanists to class and name them.

It would be useless in us to make further extracts,—those already given present a very favourable specimen of every line throughout the book. Mr. Phillips strikes a certain note when he begins, as it were with a pitch pipe, and holds to it, without variation, till he comes to the close. We have not selected, as reviewers are often charged with doing, such passages only as would best suit our turn, but such as we have in truth thought the least faulty, and such as the author and his friends and admirers have themselves pointed out as particularly fine. Indeed, in extracting after this manner, we think we do more than justice;—for such flights, taken by themselves, appear tolerably well, and when they occur but rarely, and are well timed, would hardly offend, with all their defects, the most fastidious taste,—it is only when they are continually played off upon you, that you become disgusted and jaded with them, and have a full sense of their utter worthlessness. Had we treated Mr. Phillips in a different manner, his defects might have been made to appear somewhat more glaring,—as for instance, to take a few sentences at random.

'I should only think how long she had writhed in the agony of her disunion, how long she had bent, fettered by slaves, cajoled by blockheads, and plundered by adventurers; the proverb of the fool, the prey of the politician, the dupe of the designing, the experiment of the desperate, struggling, as it were, between her own fanatical and infuriated parties, those hell-engendered serpents which infold her like the Trojan seer, even at the worship of her altars, and crush her to death in the very embraces of her children.'

'Has the sweet spirit of christianity appeared on our plains in the character of her precepts, breathing the air and robed in the beauties of the world to which she would lead us; with no argument but love, no look but peace, no wealth but piety; her creed comprehensive as the arch of heaven, and her charities bounded but by the circle of creation? Or has she been let loose amongst us, in form a fury, and in art a demon, her heart festered with the fires of hell, her hands clotted with the gore of earth, withering alike in her repose, and in her progress, her path apparent by the print of blood, and her pause denoted by the expanse of desolation? Gospel of heaven! is this thy herald? God of the universe! is this thy hand-maid? Christian of the ascendency! how would you answer the disbelieving infidel, if he asked you, should he estimate the Christian doctrine by the Christian practice?'

'Plundered, she was not poor, for her character enriched; attainted, she was not titleless, for her services ennobled; literally outlawed into eminence and fettered into fame, the fields of her exile were immortalized by her deeds, and the links of her chain became decorated by her laurels.'

'Have we not seen the labour of ages overthrown, and the whim of a day erected on its ruins; establishments the most solid withering at a word, and visions the most whimsical realized at a wish; crowns crumbled, discords confederated, kings become vagabonds, and vagabonds made kings, at the capricious phrenzy of a village adventurer?'

'Can there be an injury more deadly? can there be a crime more cruel? It is without remedy—it is without antidote,—it is without evasion! The reptile calumny is ever on the watch. From the fascination of its eye no activity can escape; from the venom of its fang no sanity can recover. It has no enjoyment but crime; it has no prey but virtue; it has no interval from its malice, save when, bloated with its victims, it grovels to disgorge them at the withered shrine, where envy idolizes her own infirmities.'

We *cut* for these passages, if our readers understand that term, and therefore have done by the author as fairly as was possible.

We hardly know with whom to compare Mr. Phillips in regard to style, unless it be with the production of an ancient historian—whose works many of our readers have doubtless met with in the course of their literary pursuits,—entitled 'The House that Jack built.' In accumulative sentences, frequent alliteration and in the force and number of their epithets, we think them very like each other, although the latter has certainly the advantage in point of simplicity. With all the defects of our orator, we are not insensible to his merits,—his imagination is uncommonly fertile, and he has a very great command of language, two important requisites to an orator,—but unfortunately he is not content to put them to their proper use. Every thing about him is so forced and artificial and made up, that on reading his speeches we find great difficulty in persuading ourselves that he is in earnest, He seems all the while to be *making-believe-orator*,—to have it as a principal object in his mind, to make a great speech, without regard to the occasion or the cause of his client, and to imagine that it is to delight themselves with his display alone, that the court and jury are brought together. This book however is by no means without its uses. We recommend it most confidently to every young Demosthenes, as containing the most valuable collection of good sounding words, remarkable antitheses and well strung alliterations to be found in the language. Indeed it promises to be of little less importance to the rising orator than the rhyming dictionary is to the youthful poet. We think it contains an excellent assortment too, for the true lovers of indescribable emotions, and all such as long to feel excitement without the trouble of ascertaining the causes.

From the remarks we have offered in relation to the oratory of this country, we may perhaps be understood as maintaining that it has already reached its perfection, and is capable of no further improvement. We beg leave however to deny any such opinion. So far from it, we believe that very much remains to be done to bring it to that state of excellence to which our institutions are peculiarly well calculated to advance it, in all its various departments. All that we contend for is, that we have begun well, we have laid a good foundation, we have looked first to the substance and groundwork of oratory, and we need not fear but that the polish and ornament will follow of course, in due time, and of a proper kind. We are as sensible as any persons can be, that the most forcible reasoning will not at all times command the attention, and that the fancy and imagination must often be called in aid of the understanding. We conceive at the same time that there is great room for the display of a correct taste and good judgment in the selection of the most appropriate means to be used in awakening and keeping up the interest.

It is said in the preface to these orations, that oratory is always to be judged of by its success, and that the style which is most calculated to attract, is undoubtedly the best. This opens a field of argument into which we are not at liberty to enter just now, but we take leave to express our fullest dissent to the remark. We have seen the buffoonery and vulgar jests of an awkward and ignorant declaimer, have greater effect for a time with an audience, than the sound and elegant argument of one of our most distinguished orators ; but this had no tendency to raise the least question in the minds of any one, as to the oratory of the two persons. It is related of Patrick Henry, that being called upon to argue a case in a remote county court of his own state—and observing that the better part of the jury, during the address of his opponent, were in the full enjoyment of a very comfortable nap,—on rising in his turn, he gave his wig a gentle twirl and brought the bob in front, and in such costume went through with his argument—in answer to the questions which this extraordinary act drew on him, he said, that although the jury were not to be attracted by the able speech of his brother, he yet concluded they would all want to know what a madman had to say, and that upon this supposition was founded his singular manœuvre,—nor was he disappointed. The astonished jury stared and heard with all their might ; whilst Henry, under cover of his ill adjusted wig, poured in upon them a most admirable and well adjusted argument, and the victory of the *wig* party, as might be conjectured, was complete. But notwithstanding this striking figure of rhetoric answered an excellent purpose here, we apprehend few would advise to its frequent adoption.

It is a common remark, and a very correct one, that every person comes to his just level and occupies his proper place in public estimation, and in no particular is this more true, than in regard to oratory. However people may be captivated with prettily turned speeches and holyday orations, and delight in the play they give to the fancy and taste, they will not be led by them to responsible action on important emergencies. There is an instinct, as it were, among the ignorant and vulgar, as well as those of better taste and sounder judgment, which prevents them from being imposed upon by these superficial and heartless speech makers. There is an earnestness and naturalness of manner in all those who speak from feeling and from just views of their subject, and who themselves participate in the passions they would communicate, which cannot to be put on. Such persons rarely fail to find forcible, if not elegant expressions, and to arrest the attention and influence the minds of their hearers. It is such oratory we wish to see encouraged in this country, and such only we believe is likely to succeed.

ART. XI.—1. *An account of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By H. Dearborn, Major General of the United States' Army.* 1818.

2. *A letter to Major General Dearborn, repelling his unprovoked attack on the character of the late Major General Israel Putnam. By Daniel Putnam, Esquire;* 1818.

WERE it not for the extremely unpleasant nature of the discussion to which the first of these pamphlets has given rise, we should not regret the occasion of recurring to that distinguished and ever memorable opening of the revolutionary contest. No national drama was ever developed, in a more interesting and splendid first scene. The incidents and the result of the battle itself were most important, and indeed most wonderful. As a mere battle, few surpass it in whatever engages and interests the attention. It was fought, on a conspicuous eminence, in the immediate neighbourhood of a populous city; and consequently in the view of thousands of spectators. The attacking army moved over a sheet of water to the assault. The operations and movements were of course all visible and all distinct. Those who looked on from the houses and heights of Boston had a fuller view of every important operation and event, than can ordinarily be had of any battle, or than can possibly be had of such as are fought on a more extended ground, or by detachments of troops acting in different places, and at different times, and in some measure independently of each other. When the British columns were advancing to the attack, the flames of Charlestown, (fired, as is generally supposed, by a shell,) began to ascend. The spectators, far out-numbering both armies, thronged and crowded on every height and every point which afforded a view of the scene, themselves constituted a very important part of it.

The troops of the two armies seemed like so many combatants in an amphitheatre. The manner in which they should acquit themselves, was to be judged of, not as in other cases of military engagements, by reports and future history, but by a vast and anxious assembly already on the spot, and waiting with unspeakable concern and emotion the progress of the day.

In other battles the *recollection* of wives and children, has been used as an excitement to animate the warrior's breast and nerve his arm. Here was not a mere recollection, but an actual *presence* of them, and other dear connexions, hanging on the skirts of the battle, anxious and agitated, feeling almost as if wounded themselves by every blow of the enemy, and putting forth, as it were, their own strength, and all the energy of their own throbbing bosoms, into every gallant effort of their warring friends.

But there was a more comprehensive and vastly more important view of that day's contest, than has been mentioned,—a view, indeed, which ordinary eyes, bent intently on what was immediately before them, did not embrace, but which was perceived in its full extent and expansion by minds of a higher order. Those men who were at the head of the colonial councils, who had been engaged for years in the previous stages of the quarrel with England, and who had been accustomed to look forward to the future, were well apprised of the magnitude of the events likely to hang on the business of that day. They saw in it not only a battle, but the beginning of a civil war, of unmeasured extent and uncertain issue. All America and all England were likely to be deeply concerned in the consequences. The individuals themselves, who knew full well what agency they had had, in bringing affairs to this crisis, had need of all their courage;—not that disregard of personal safety, in which the vulgar suppose true courage to consist, but that high and fixed moral sentiment, that steady and decided purpose, which enables men to pursue a distant end, with a full view of the difficulties and dangers before them, and with a conviction, that, before they arrive at the proposed end, should they ever reach it, they must pass through evil report as well as good report, and be liable to obloquy, as well as to defeat.

Spirits that fear nothing else fear disgrace; and this danger is necessarily encountered by those who engage in civil war. Unsuccessful resistance is not only ruin to its authors, but is esteemed, and necessarily so, by the laws of all countries, treasonable. This is the case, at least till resistance becomes so general and formidable, as to assume the form of regular war. But who can tell, when resistance commences, whether it will attain even to that degree of success? Some of those persons who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, described themselves as signing it, 'as with halters about their necks.' If there were grounds for this remark in 1776, when the cause had become so much more general, how much greater was the hazard, when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought? Otis, to whose merits it is high time that some competent pen should do full and ample justice, had ceased to be active in public concerns; but others, who had partaken of the public councils with him,—and among them, he, who acted a conspicuous part in the business of those times, and who yet lives, to assert, with a vigour unimpaired by years, the claims of the patriots of this Commonwealth to a full participation and an efficient agency, not only in the *very earliest* scenes of the Revolution, but in the events which preceded it, and in which it may be said, more than in any other particular occurrences, to have had its origin,—were earnestly watching the immediate issue of the contest, but well seeing also, at the same time, its more remote consequences, and the vastness and importance of the scene which was then opening.

These considerations constituted, to enlarged and liberal minds, the moral sublimity of the occasion; while to the outward senses the movement of armies, the roar of artillery, the brilliancy of the reflection of a summer's sun, from the burnished armour of the British columns, and the flames of a burning town, made up a scene of extraordinary grandeur. But we must recall ourselves from these reflections to the publications before us.

The first of these is by General Dearborn, lately a Major General in the service of the United States, and, as he informs us, a Captain in Stark's regiment, in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The '*Account*' contains several things worth knowing, relative to the incidents of the battle, and would not have been an unacceptable present to the public, but for the charges it contains against General Putnam, which we shall hereafter endeavour to state.—The following paragraph does justice, and we believe no more than justice, to the coolness and steadiness of Stark, and the good conduct of the men under his command. 'After completing the necessary preparations for action, Colonel Stark's regiment formed, and marched about one o'clock. When it reached Charlestown Neck we found two regiments, halted, in consequence of a heavy enfilading fire thrown across it, of round, bar and chain shot, from the Lively frigate, and floating batteries anchored in Charles river, and a floating battery lying in the river Mystic.—Major M'Clary went forward, and observed to the commanders, if they did not intend to move on, he wished them to open and let our regiment pass; the latter was immediately done. My company being in front, I marched by the side of Colonel Stark, who, moving with a very deliberate pace, I suggested the propriety of quickening the march of the regiment, that it might sooner be relieved from the galling cross fire of the enemy.—With a look peculiar to himself, he fixed his eyes upon me, and observed with great composure, "*Dearborn, one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones,*" and continued to advance in the same cool and collected manner.'

In the following paragraph is described, we think, the general habits of the New England militia, during the revolutionary war, whenever they were engaged in battle, and were tolerably well sheltered from the enemy's fire. 'Our men were intent on cutting down every officer whom they could distinguish in the British line. When any of them discovered one, he would instantly exclaim,—"*there,*" "*see that officer,*" "let us have a shot at him,"—when two or three would fire at the same moment; and as our soldiers were excellent marksmen and rested their muskets over the fence, they were sure of their object. An officer was discovered to mount near the position of General Howe, on the left of the British line, and ride towards our left; which a column was endeavouring to turn. This was the only officer on horseback during the day, and as he approached the rail-fence, I heard a number of our men observe, "there," "there,"—"see that officer on horseback"—"let us fire," "no, not yet,"—"wait until he gets to that little knoll,"—"now"—when they fired, and he instantly fell dead from his horse. It proved to be Major Pitcairn, a distinguished officer.—The fire of the enemy was so badly directed, I should presume that forty-nine balls out of fifty passed from one to six feet over our head, for I noticed an apple tree, some paces in the rear, which had scarcely a ball in it from the ground as high as a man's head, while the trunk and branches above were literally cut to pieces.'

But this publication has attracted public attention principally from an accusation, which it brings forward against the conduct of General Putnam, on the day of the battle, and from the opinions it expresses of the general character and merits of that officer. 'When the troops,' on their retreat, 'arrived at the summit of Bunker Hill, we found General Putnam with nearly as many men as had been engaged in the battle; notwithstanding which no measure had been taken for reinforcing us, nor was there a shot fired to cover our retreat, or any movement made to check the advance of the enemy to this height; but on the contrary, General Putnam rode off, with a number of *spades and pick-axes in his hands*, and the troops that had remained with him *inactive* during the whole of the action, although within a few hundred yards of the battle ground and no obstacle to impede their movements but *musket balls*.' And again, 'General Putnam had entered our army at the commencement of the revolutionary war, with such an universal popularity as can scarcely *now* be conceived, even by those who *then* felt the whole force of it, and no one can at this time offer any satisfactory reasons why he was held in such high estimation.'

'In the battle of Bunker Hill he took post *on the declivity towards Charlestown Neck*, where I saw him on horseback, as we passed on to Breed's Hill, with Colonel Gerrish by his side. I heard the *gallant* Colonel Prescott (who commanded in the redoubt) observe, after the war, at the table of His Excellency James Bowdoin, then governour of this Commonwealth, "that he sent three messengers during the battle to General Putnam, requesting him to come forward and take the command, there being no general officer present, and the relative rank of the Colonel not having been settled; but that he received no answer, and his whole conduct was such, both during the action and the retreat, that he ought to have been shot." He remained at or near the top of Bunker Hill until the retreat, with Colonel Gerrish by his side; I saw them together when we retreated. He not only continued at that distance himself during the whole of the action, but had a force with him nearly as large as that engaged. No reinforcement of men or ammunition was sent to our assistance; and, instead of attempting to cover the retreat of those who had expended their last shot in the face of the enemy, he retreated in company with Colonel Gerrish, and his whole force, without discharging a single musket; but what is still more astonishing, Colonel Gerrish was *arrested* for *cowardice, tried, cashiered, and universally execrated;* while not a word was said against the conduct of General Putnam, whose *extraordinary popularity* alone saved him, not only from *trial,* but even from *censure.* Colonel Gerrish commanded a regiment, and should have been at its head. His regiment was not in action, although ordered—but as he was in the suite of the general, and appeared to be in the situation of an adjutant general, why was he not directed by Putnam to join it, or the regiment sent into action under the senior officer present with it?'

'When General Putnam's ephemeral and unaccountable popularity subsided or faded away, and the minds of the people were released from the shackles of a delusive trance, the circumstances relating to Bunker Hill were *viewed and talked of in a very different light,* and the selection of the unfortunate Colonel Gerrish as a *scape-goat* considered as a *mysterious* and *inexplicable event.*'

'I have no private feelings to gratify by making this statement in relation to General Putnam, as I never had any intercourse with him, and was only in the army where he was present, for a few months; but at this late period, I conceive it a duty to give a fair and impartial account of one of the most important battles during the war of independence, and all the circumstances connected with it, so far as I had the means of being correctly informed.'

The matter of these charges, it must be confessed, is weighty and important; and it is quite unaccountable to us, that any man should choose to bring them forward, and rest the proof of them solely upon his own declaration. General Putnam has been dead many years. His Biographer, Gen. Humphreys, died a few months before the appearance of this publication. It could not, however, but be supposed, that there were friends and connexions of General Putnam still living, whom this 'account' would sting to the heart. If well made out in proof, this charge must cover the character of their deceased relative with disgrace, and themselves with mortification. If not made out, they could not but be expected to feel some indignation towards the author of the 'account,' unless they are all as spiritless as the 'account' would represent the general himself.

It should have occurred to the author of the 'account,' that, by making this publication voluntarily and without necessity, he has deprived himself of the full advantage of his own testimony. However far above all suspicion his own character for personal veracity may be in other instances, in this, the community can hardly view him in any other light than that of an accuser. He is the *prosecutor* against the fame and character of General Putnam; and this too after a lapse of more than forty years, when we should have supposed, that the immunities of the grave would have been a safeguard and protection to the character and fame of the dead. He has adduced charges, both general and particular, of high import, which no other man has ever undertaken to establish before the community.

Every descendant and connexion of General Putnam is bound to protect and preserve his character and fame from unmerited reproach. He has a *right*, it is his *duty*, to call upon the prosecutor to produce evidence in support of the charges, or to retract them.

There is a solemn *duty*, also, resting on the community. The country itself owes a debt of gratitude to those worthies, who established her Independence, and can repay it only by holding their characters and fame in *sacred trust*. She is bound to defend and protect this trust against all *posthumous enemies*. She should not suffer this treasure, thus committed to her care, to be subject to spoliation or diminution. She has once decided upon their merits; she is now bound to see that her decisions are respected, until upon a thorough investigation of the charges preferred, and the evidence adduced in support of them, she shall see fit to reverse her decrees.

The public has not only this solemn duty to perform, but has, also, a deep *interest*, in relation to this subject. It has an interest in the reputation of its distinguished men, which, when it ceases to preserve or protect, it will cease to deserve distinguished services from any of its citizens. The characters of its great men are the real treasures of the country. They are the regalia of the republic. What has it but these for its glory? What, but these, for the themes of its poets and orators? What, but these, for the examples of its emulous youth?—When possessions of this nature shall be little esteemed, it will evince a strange disregard to the highest subjects of national interest.

Nearly half a century has elapsed from the commencement of the revolution, and in this flight of years, a great majority of those, who acted prominent parts in it, have been carried to the tomb. A small number survive, yet enjoying the fruit of their services, and rejoicing in the prosperity of their country. We cannot conceive what motives should induce any one of those, who are still living, to venture rashly in an attack on the fame of the dead. How long can he, who is the youngest of the survivors, expect to live, to vindicate his own claims to his country's gratitude? And which of them can expect, that those who come after him, and are of another generation, shall pay a more tender and sacred regard to his fame, than he may have been found to manifest to the fame of one of his own associates and companions in arms?—The last man who should bring forward, at this day, an accusation against one, who has long been dead, and who died in the full possession of his country's regard and gratitude for his services in our revolution, is he, who has himself claims on that regard and gratitude for similar services. Even the common feelings of self interest would seem sufficient to repress such an undertaking by such a hand. What is the value of revolutionary merit, if, forty years after the actions on which it rests were performed, and twenty years after he who performed them has gone to his grave, this merit may be denied, in terms of bold and unqualified assertion, and the country informed that imbecility, cowardice, want of patriotism and neglect of duty, were the true characteristics of those, to whom it has uniformily ascribed a generous devotion to the public interest, inflexible virtue and undaunted courage?—And especially what is to be the value of this merit, if such attacks are to be made upon it, not by the temerity of the striplings of the rising generation, but by one who was an associate and fellow labourer? There are occasions, it is true, in which great sacrifices must be made to the truth of history, and to a desire of disabusing mankind of their prejudices and false opinions. But such necessity, we have flattered ourselves, has not existed, in relation to the public men of the United States. We cannot persuade ourselves that it existed in the case of General Putnam, and we cannot therefore but feel the deepest regret for the occasion which has produced these remarks.

But we must examine the charges preferred by Gen. Dearborn against Gen. Putnam in the 'account.' The first which we shall notice is of a special nature. It is the charge of cowardice at the battle of Bunker Hill. It appears to us, that this charge is necessarily implied in the 'account.' Gen. Putnam is there coupled with Col. Gerrish, and they are represented as retreating side by side 'without discharging a single musket.' The conduct of Gen. Putnam is there represented as being similar in every respect to that of Col. Gerrish. And Col. Gerrish, the author of the account tells us, in consequence of this conduct was *arrested* for *cowardice, tried, cashiered,* and universally *execrated,* and that Gen. Putnam was saved from a like fate only by his extraordinary popularity. And that when Gen. Putnam's ephemeral and unaccountable popularity had subsided or faded away, the selection of Col. Gerrish as a '*scape-goat*' was considered a mysterious and inexplicable event. That is, that although Col. Gerrish was guilty of cowardice, and merited the punishment inflicted upon him, and justly suffered 'universal execration,' yet it was '*mysterious* and *inexplicable,*' that Gen. Putnam, who was guilty of a similar offence, should escape a similar fate; that is, that it was quite *mysterious* and *inexplicable* that Gen. Putnam was not *arrested* for *cowardice, tried, cashiered,* and subjected to *universal execration.*

The second charge is of a more general nature. It not only accuses Gen. Putnam of cowardice at the battle of Bunker Hill, but denies him merit as a soldier, generally, and his claim, also, to the applause bestowed upon him by the people, whose minds, the author of the 'account' tells us, were at that time under the 'shackles of a delusive trance.' We think we are justified in this inference, and shall leave it to the public to judge, whether these charges are not contained in the few sentences, which we have quoted, and are also willing to risk the assertion, that the whole tenour and spirit of the 'account' breathes these charges throughout.

Let us turn our attention, in the next place, to the nature and the degree of evidence adduced in support of these charges. And here, even admitting that Gen. Dearborn has not deprived himself of the full benefit of his own testimony, by voluntarily preferring these charges, we cannot but doubt his competency to speak so decisively upon the conduct of Gen. Putnam on the field of battle.

He was a platoon officer, commanding twenty or thirty men, and engaged, like them, in loading and discharging his musket. This does not seem to be a station, which gave him such a view of things, as authorizes him to say, of his own knowledge, what was or was not the conduct of a general officer. He could speak much better, probably, of the conduct of the platoon under his command. ‘ ’Twas but a part he saw, and not the whole.’

We should not expect to find General Dearborn resorting, in any case, to this sort of evidence to estimate the merits of a military man. His experience, it was natural to suppose, might have taught him, how incompetent subalterns are to speak of the merits of their superiors, either as to courage or conduct. He has had occasion to notice the general injustice of such opinions, and it would seem, that he must have seen and felt the impropriety of bringing General Putnam's reputation and character to be tried by any such standard. Although he may now be, or may have lately been, a Major General, yet it is only the evidence of Captain Dearborn which he produces on this occasion against General Putnam. Among military men, we imagine, nothing will be esteemed worse, than this *appealing downwards* on questions of military behaviour. According to this process, a captain is to decide how well his colonel, (or, in this case, a general officer,) executes his command and performs his duty ;—and the captain himself must find a voucher for his own good behaviour, in the certificate of some soldier in a platoon. Those are to judge how commands are executed, who do not know what the commands are ; and he, who sees the least of all, is to be the judge over all.

For the purpose of satisfying *unprejudiced minds*, who might conceive that there were *some grounds* for doubting the general correctness of his observations, General Dearborn has, since the appearance of the ‘ account,’ procured and published the letters, certificates and depositions of sundry persons, relative to the battle.

General M'Clary of New-Hampshire in a letter to the son of General Dearborn, says, 'I was, the principal part of the time the battle continued, near to Colonel Stark, who commanded the regiment to which I belonged, and on our retreat from Breed's Hill, in ascending Bunker's Hill, and arriving on its summit, I well remember of seeing General Putnam there, on his horse, with an iron spade in his hand, which was the last I saw of him on that day. Being an officer in the company under the command of your father, I had an opportunity of knowing the circumstances generally attending the battle, and if General Putnam had been there, I should have known it.'

General M'Clary was, we believe, an ensign in Captain Dearborn's company. General Pierce of New-Hampshire says,

'I went on to the Hill about eleven o'clock A. M. on the seventeenth; when I arrived at the summit of Bunker's Hill, I saw two pieces of cannon there standing, with two or three soldiers standing by them, who observed they belonged to Captain Callender's company, and said that the Captain and his officers were cowards, and that they had run away. General Putnam there sat upon a horse. I saw nobody at that place when I arrived there, but the General and those two or three soldiers. General Putnam requested our company, which was commanded by Captain John Ford of Chelmsford, Mass. to take those two pieces of cannon, and draw them down; our men utterly refused, and said they had no knowledge of the use of artillery, and that they were ready to fight with their own arms. Captain Ford then addressed his company in a very animated, patriotic and brave strain, which is the characteristic of the man; the company then seized the drag-ropes and soon drew them to the rail fence, according to my recollection, about half the distance from the redoubt on Breed's Hill to Mystic river. I think I saw General Putnam at that place, looking for some part of his sword. I did not hear him give any orders or assume any command, except at the top of Bunker's Hill, when I was going to the field of battle.'

Two or three other persons declare that they were in the battle, and did not see General Putnam there. Captain Trevett, who commanded a company of artillery from Marblehead, attached to Colonel Gridley's regiment, says, that he saw him on Bunker's Hill, while he himself was going to Breed's Hill, and on his return saw him again at the same place.

Major Stark, the son of General Stark, writes, that he recollects substantially all that General Dearborn has written, having been in the battle. In a letter to General Wilkinson in 1815 this gentleman also says, ‘your account of General Putnam corresponds with what I have always understood of his conduct that day.’ The *account* here referred to, is contained in a letter from General Wilkinson to Major Stark, in which the writer says, ‘General Dearborn informs me that General Putnam was fuming and vociferating on Bunker Hill, sixty or eighty rods in the rear, and although invited did not come up to the fire.’ This *account* then, is the *account* of General Dearborn, not of General Wilkinson. Major Stark adds, with becoming caution, that ‘his juvenile years did not entitle him to [enable him to obtain] any better than common place information. The Reverend Mr. Bently says that he saw General Stark in 1810, and that he was then informed by him, that if General Putnam had done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his country in the first action.

The Honourable Abel Parker, now a judge in New Hampshire, says,

‘In the time of this heavy fire’ (that is of the artillery from Boston) ‘I, for the first time that day, saw General Putnam standing with others under cover of the north wall of the fort, where I believe he remained until the British troops made their appearance in their boats. At this time the artillery was withdrawn from the fort, but by whose order I know not; and General Putnam at or near the same time, left the fort. The removing of the artillery, and General Putnam's departure, took place a little before (if my memory be correct) the New Hampshire troops made their appearance on the hill. I saw them when they arrived, and witnessed their dexterity in throwing up their breast-work of rails and hay. When the British first made their attack with small arms I was at the breast-work where I remained until I received my wound from the party who had flanked it; I then went into the fort, where I remained until the order to retreat was given by Colonel Prescott. After my arrival at the fort, I had a perfect opportunity of viewing the operations of the day, and distinctly noticed Colonel Prescott as the only person who took upon him any command. He frequently ordered the men from one side to the other, in order to defend that part which was pressed hardest by the enemy; and I was within a few yards of him, when the order to retreat was given; and I affirm, that at that time General Putnam was not in the fort, neither had he been there at any time after my entering the same; and I have no hesitation, in declaring, that the story told by Colonel Small to Colonel Trumbull, concerning General Putnam's saving him from the fire of our men at that time, is altogether unfounded.’

We learn from these statements of General Pierce and Judge Parker that General Putnam most assuredly was on the field, at the rail fence, at one time, and near the fort at another. These are distinct denials of General Dearborn's statement that he was in the rear, on Bunker Hill, the whole time.

Whoever considers the nature and circumstances of this battle will not be at all surprised, if there should appear to have been some degree of complaint and fault-finding among those engaged. It was a battle almost won,—but yet lost. The place was not finally defended. The pinnacle of success had been almost reached, not quite. The prize had been seized, as it were, but not holden. Out of the disappointed feelings, natural to such an occasion, some crimination and recrimination might be expected to arise. Even the gallant Prescott, a man of a noble, generous, and magnanimous nature, would not willingly surrender his redoubt; nor is it strange that he might think it possible for others to have given him better support. He found himself, in his little fortress, and on his leaving it, to pass through a gate-way enfiladed by the British musquetry, in a condition somewhat like that in which Jugurtha is described by Sallust, 'Dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit.'

Properly and strictly speaking, there was no Commander in Chief in the battle. The troops from the different states were strangers to each other. The battle itself was unexpected, and may be said to have been accidental. No weight should be given to the opinions, engendered in such a state of feelings against any man's conduct; especially when we take into the account the entire want of discipline in the army, and of concert among its leaders, and when we remember that all depended on that spirit of enthusiasm which glowed in the breast of every soldier, and which led him, under the circumstances of the case, to look upon himself as his own commander. A very ordinary degree of candour would induce the belief, that if there had been grounds of complaint against any officer, at that time, not of a shadowy and unsubstantial nature, they would have been attended to and investigated. That was certainly a *jealous period* Every officer was watched, because it was the beginning of a civil war, and dangers were to be apprehended, not only from cowardice but from defection. If those who knew General Putnam's behaviour at that time, found no fault with it, the presumption is, that no fault could be found with it. And those, whose lips were silent then, when well founded complaints would have been a duty, must, long afterwards and after the death of the party, be heard not without much abatement and allowance.

Let us now, however, turn our attention to the accused, and see what can be produced to repel or answer the evidence against him.

The following is quoted from a letter written by Judge Grosvenor, of Pomfret, addressed to Colonel Daniel Putnam, son of General Putnam.

'Being under the command of General Putnam, part of our regiment and a much larger number of Massachusetts troops under Colonel Prescott were ordered to march, on the evening of the sixteenth of June, 1775, to Breed's Hill, where, under the immediate superintendence of General Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. On the following day, the 17th, dispositions were made to deter the advance of the enemy, as there was reason to believe an immediate attack was intended. General Putnam during the period was extremely active, and directed principally the operations. All were animated, and their general inspired confidence by his example. The British army having made dispositions for landing at Morton's Point, were covered by the fire of shot and shells from Copp's Hill, in Boston, which it had opened on our redoubt early in the morning, and continued the greatest part of the day. At this moment a detachment of four lieutenants (of which I was one) and one hundred and twenty men, selected the preceding day from General Putnam's regiment,* under Captain Knowlton, were, by the general, ordered to take post at a rail-fence on the left of the breast-work, that ran north from the redoubt to the bottom of Breed's Hill. This order was promptly executed, and our detachment, in advancing to the post, took up one rail-fence and placed it against another, (as a partial cover,) nearly parallel with the line of the breast-work, and extended our left nearly to Mystic river. Each man was furnished with one pound of gun-powder and forty eight balls. This ammunition was received, however, prior to marching to Breed's Hill.

'In this position our detachment remained until a second division of British troops landed, when they commenced a fire of their field artillery of several rounds, and particularly against the rail-fence; then formed in columns, advanced to the attack, displayed in line at about the distance of musket shot, and commenced firing.

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* The general officers from Connecticut, in the campaign of 1775, had each a regiment, with lieutenant colonels under them.

At this instant our whole line opened upon the enemy, and so precise and fatal was our fire, that in the course of a short time they gave way and retired in disorder out of musket shot, leaving before us many killed and wounded.

'There was but a short respite on the part of the British, as their lines were soon filled up and led against us; when they were met as before, and forced back with great loss.

'On reinforcements joining the enemy, they made a direct advance on the redoubt, and being successful, which our brave Captain Knowlton perceiving, ordered a retreat of his men, in which he was sustained by two companies under the command of Captains Clark and Chester.

'The loss in our detachment, I presume, was nearly equal. Of my own immediate command of thirty men and one subaltern, there were eleven killed and wounded; among the latter was myself, though not so severely as to prevent my retiring.

'At the rail-fence there was not posted any corps save our own under Knowlton, when the firing commenced; nor did I hear of any other being there till long after the action. Other troops, it was said, were ordered to join us, but refused doing so.

'Of the officers on the ground, the most active within my observation, were General Putnam, Colonel Prescott and Captain Knowlton; but no doubt there were many more, equally brave and meritorious, who must naturally have escaped the eye of one attending to his own immediate command.'

The following is from a letter from Colonel John Trumbull, the Painter.

'In the summer of 1786, I became acquainted, in London, with Colonel John Small, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General Putnam intimately during the war of Canada from 1756 to 1763. From him, I have the following anecdote respecting the battle of Bunker Hill;—I shall nearly repeat his words;—Looking at the picture which I had then almost completed, he said, "I don't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend Putnam; you have not done him justice. I wish you would alter that part of your picture. and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with the other officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men; we had advanced very near the works undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a feu-de-joie was poured in upon us; it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back, and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing;—I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men levelling their pieces at me; I knew their excellence as marksmen, and considered myself gone. At that moment my old friend Putnam rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out, "For God's sake, my lads, don't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother." We were so near each other, that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed; I bowed, thanked him and walked away unmolested."

'Colonel Small had the character of an honourable, upright man, and could have no conceivable motive for deviating from truth in relating the circumstances to me; I therefore believe them to be true. You remember, my dear sir, the viper biting the file. The character of your father for courage, humanity, generosity, and integrity is too firmly established, by the testimony of those who *did know him*, to be tarnished by the breath of one who confesses that *he did not.*

'Accept, my dear sir, this feeble tribute to your father's memory, from one who *knew* him, *respected* him, *loved* him—and who wishes health and prosperity to you and all the good man's posterity.'

The truth of the foregoing anecdote derives confirmation from the testimony of Colonel Daniel Putnam, who informs us in his 'letter,' that the same was related to him by his father soon after the battle, and that there was also an interview between Colonel Small and General Putnam, on the lines between Prospect Hill and Bunker Hill, not long after the action.

Judge Winthrop, of Cambridge, in an unpublished letter, dated June 18th, 1818, says,

'I lived in Cambridge all the summer of 1775, and among others was present at the battle of Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, in that summer. The army was then upon the state establishment. About one o'clock, or a little after it, an alarm was given in this vicinity. James Swan, Esq. was then resident here. We two armed ourselves and went down together to Charlestown. A little beyond the College, General Joseph Warren overtook us. We were both known to him and exchanged the passing compliment. But as he was on horseback we did not join company.

'When we passed over Bunker Hill, we went immediately to that part of the lines, where the rail-fence stood. There were two field-pieces there, but no artillery-men with them. Generals Putnam and Warren were in conversation by one of them. We spoke with them, and then passed on toward the redoubt. The two generals were standing, and General Putnam had hold of the briddle of his horse; there were then very few, if any men at the fence. When we got to the redoubt, we did not enter, but spent a little time in viewing the situation of the ground and of the enemy. We supposed, from the position of the British troops, that their intention was to advance between our intrenchment and the Mystic river, and that it would become necessary to have that part of our line well guarded. We expressed our opinion, and some of the people about us desired us to go and see if any sufficient force was there. We two accordingly went over to the rail-fence, and being arrived near the place where we had seen the two generals, and where the field-pieces were still standing, the firing commenced. I did not see either General Putnam or General Warren afterwards on that day.

'I have not now the command of dates, but think it was only a few days after this, when the army was taken into continental pay, and General Washington took the command. Ward, Putnam and Heath were general officers, and continued to be generally respected. I never heard any blame cast on General Putnam, and it was about fifteen years after this that he died in peace.

'It is altogether a mistake, that either I, or my brother, was ever on the Committee of Safety. About a month after the battle, if I rightly recollect, the government was organized according to the charter, and the Committee of course ceased.'

General Humphreys in his life of Putnam, speaking of the battle says ; 'the presence and example of General Putnam were not less conspicuous than useful. He did every thing that an intrepid and experienced officer could accomplish. The enemy pursued to Winter Hill.—Putnam made a stand and drove them back under cover of their ships.'

An account of the battle, published in one of the news-papers at the time, states,

'The action continued about two hours, when the regulars on the wing were put in confusion and gave way. The Connecticut troops closely pursued them and were on the point of pushing their bayonets ; when orders were received from General Pomeroy for those who had been in the action two hours to fall back, and their places to be supplied with fresh forces. These orders being mistaken for a direction to retreat, our troops on the right wing, began a general retreat which was handed to the left, the principal place of action, where Captains Knowlton, Chester, Clark, and Putnam had forced the enemy to give way, and retire before them for some considerable distance, and being warmly pursuing the enemy, were with difficulty pursuaded to retire ; but the wing, by mistaking the orders, the left, to avoid being encircled, were obliged to retreat with the main body.'

The position of some part of these Connecticut troops is confirmed by the statement of Mr. Adams, who now resides near the memorable spot, and at whose house Captain Knowlton's company was quartered. He informs us that this company went upon the hill *by order of General Putnam.* After their return they mentioned to Mr. Adams that they fought behind a kind of breast-work, made of rail-fence and new mown grass, *and that this was erected by themselves.*

The following affidavits and extracts are here inserted, at length, because they have not been before published.

'I, Abner Allen of Western, in the County of Worcester, do testify and declare, that I enlisted as a soldier in the company, which was commanded by General Israel Putnam, and Thomas Grosvenor was lieutenant. I was at the battle of Bunker Hill; went on the right before the battle and worked at the breast-work. Putnam was then and there called general and acted as such, and the company was commanded by Captain Knowlton, who was afterwards promoted to be Colonel, and killed at Harlem Heights, where I was with him. Our company was posted and fought at the rail-fence at Breed's Hill till we had orders to retreat. And I do know that General Putnam was in this engagement; I saw him on horse-back, riding backwards and forwards urging the men to the fight with great earnestness,—and when some of the men appeared to flinch a little, I heard him use this expression, "Gods curse ye—drive on." He was as much exposed as any man engaged. Our company fought at about the centre of the line between the breast-work and the water. And I do know that General Putnam did, on that occasion, all that a soldier and brave man could do.'

'I, Joseph Hill of Tyringham, in the Country of Berkshire, do testify and declare, that I enlisted into the company of Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, (son of General Israel Putnam,) in May, 1775,—that I was at the battle of Bunker Hill on the 17th of June. Part of the Connecticut troops went on over night and part in the morning. I know that General Putnam was in that battle. I was on the left wing. I know that he took part in the engagement, and was as much exposed as any body in the battle.—I then belonged to Coventry in Connecticut.'

Reuben Kemp, of Brooklyn, Connecticut, deposeth; 'that in the campaign of 1775, he was a soldier in Captain Samuel Richards' company, and Colonel Stark's regiment; and being quartered at Mystic, on the morning of the 17th of June, there was an alarm, and our regiment were ordered to parade at the Colonel's quarters, when each man received ammunition; namely, ten bullets, and a gill-cup of gun-powder. We sorted our bullets as well as we could, to suit the bore of our guns, and immediately marched to Charlestown Neck.—After we arrived at the high ground over the neck, we were ordered to parade our packs and guns, and set sentries over them. Here we were furnished with intrenching tools, and began to throw up a breast-work near the top of Bunker Hill; but we had not been more than fifteen minutes at work, before the drums beat to arms, and we were marched immediately. An officer whom I had never before seen, and whom they called General Putnam, seemed to have the ordering of things. He charged the men not to fire until the enemy came close to the works, and then to take good aim, and make every shot kill a man, and he told one officer to see that this order was obeyed. But there were a few pieces discharged before the order was given to fire. General Putnam appeared to be very angry, and passed along the lines quickly with his sword drawn, and threatened to stab any man that fired without order. The enemy kept firing as they advanced, and when they had got pretty near the works, we were all ordered to take good aim and fire. All this time, General Putnam was constantly passing backwards and forwards, from right to left, telling us the day was our own if we would only stick to it; and it was not many minutes before the enemy began to retreat. I saw him very often after, for he commanded at Prospect Hill, and I knew him to be the same officer that was in the fight.'

Isaac Bassett, of Killingley, in Connecticut, deposeth, 'that he was a private soldier in General Putnam's regiment in the campaign of 1775, that the day previous to the battle of Bunker Hill, a detachment had been made from that regiment, and under the command of Captain Knowlton, composed part of the force that first occupied Breed's Hill;—that on the morning of the 17th of June, another detachment from the same regiment under the command of Ensign Sprague marched from Cambridge, either to relieve, or to reinforce the party which went on to the hill over night. To this last detachment the deponent belonged, and arrived on the hill, at the redoubt and breast-work, just as the action commenced. Here he saw General Putnam with his drawn sword encouraging and animating the troops. One of the company, Benjamin Grosvenor, was wounded in the shoulder, and the deponent's father, (who was also a soldier in the same regiment,) was endeavouring to lead him from the field of action. General Putnam stopped him, and pricking his arm with his sword, told him the wounded man could walk off himself, and not a soldier should leave his post. This happened at the breast-work, leading from the redoubt, where our party took post;—and often-times during the action, I saw General Putnam in the hottest of the fight, calling on the men to stand their ground; and I am sure he was at this post when the enemy scaled the walls of the redoubt. I did not myself hear the order given, but it was often said by the soldiers of our regiment, that General Putnam ordered the men not to fire on the enemy till they could see the colour of their eyes, and then for every man to make sure of his mark.'

Ebenezer Bean, a soldier in Captain Kinsman's company and Colonel Stark's regiment, says,

'When we arrived at the redoubt, General Putnam was there and very active; was urging the men on, giving orders, riding from one end of the line to the other, as far as I could observe, and continued active through the action.'

Amos Barns, a soldier in Captain Abbot's company, and of Colonel Stark's regiment, says;

'When we got to the top of Bunker Hill, I saw two field pieces which had ceased firing; General Putnam was on his horse near them, and when we passed him he requested Colonel Stark to press on as fast as possible.'

The general result of this evidence, we think, is decisive to disprove a very important part of General Dearborn's statement.

General Dearborn declares in the 'Account,' 'that General Putnam remained at or near the top of Bunker Hill until the retreat, with Colonel Gerrish by his side; that he not only continued at that distance during the *whole* of the action himself, but had a force with him nearly as large as that engaged.'

And General Wilkinson says, that General Dearborn stated to him, that 'Putnam was fuming and vociferating on Bunker Hill, sixty or eighty rods in the rear, and although invited did not come up to the fire.'

Now we think the fact, that General Putnam did not remain on Bunker Hill, during the whole action, but was actually present on Breed's Hill, is completely proved. Two of the persons, whose certificates General Dearborn has published, allege this expressly. General Pierce says he saw him at the rail-fence; and Judge Parker says, that he saw him at the fort or redoubt. And, in addition to these, there is the positive declaration of Judge Grosvenor, Judge Winthrop and the other persons whose depositions are given above. And we have little doubt, that hundreds of other depositions to the same effect might be obtained. Our belief is founded on the very numerous declarations which we learn have been made to the judges, by soldiers in the revolutionary army, applying for pensions under the late law. This is a weight of testimony not to be resisted, surely by the negative evidence resulting from the declaration of those who say they did not see him.

General Dearborn's statement is, not that he did not see General Putnam, but that General Putnam *was not there*. He alleges the fact; and the fact, as he states it, is utterly irreconcilable with the testimony of others. Instead of 'fuming and vociferating in the rear,' and refusing to come up, though invited,—if the witnesses are to be credited, he was actually and zealously engaged in the battle itself.

The carrying off, with his own hands, of a part of the intrenching tools, is mentioned in a sort of half reproachful manner by General Dearborn,—but we see not with what propriety. If no other and higher duty were omitted, his attention to these minor objects, and his willingness to perform the labour of others, are not to his disadvantage. It was contemplated to throw up another work immediately, farther in the rear, which indeed was actually begun; and General Putnam had experienced enough to know that a militia army is apt to be in want of indispensable utensils. For this reason, he insisted on bringing off the intrenching tools, and set the example himself. Does not this circumstance, instead of exciting an illtimed sneer, rather unite with the other parts of his conduct, to remind one of a celebrated classical description of a General in battle? 'In prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere; omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur.'

Taking the evidence together, we apprehend the following to be a true general account of General Putnam's conduct on this occasion. He came over from Cambridge, with a part of the Connecticut troops, the night before the battle, and directed and assisted in throwing up the redoubt. He was on the field of battle, at or about the time the action commenced, at the rail-fence. At some period, during the battle, he probably went back to bring up the residue of his own regiment. He may possibly have gone back more than once for this purpose. He was encouraging the troops, giving command, passing along the lines, and partaking of all the danger of the occasion, in the heat of the engagement, at the rail-fence. When the British made the last attack, which was confined principally to the redoubt, he might have been gone back to bring up the other troops. If so, this would explain a fact, which has been asserted, that Colonel Prescott, on his retreat, met General Putnam. He was not in the redoubt, at any time during the battle. That post was Prescott's. His command and operations were confined to the troops, which lined the rail-fence, and perhaps the breast-work.—It should be understood, that the redoubt and breast-work were on a line. But the rail-fence was not on a line with these, but considerably in the rear, and much nearer Bunker Hill. If General Putnam had been at the rail-fence itself, when Colonel Prescott retreated, the latter might be said to have met with, or, in more correct terms, to have passed the former. The contiguity of the rail-fence to Bunker Hill may explain the passing, even perhaps more than once, of General Putnam from the one to the other. It has little tendency to prove the absence of General Putnam from the field at the time of the battle, that troops passed him as they went to Breed's Hill, or as they returned from it. They went *before* the battle, and returned *afterwards* ; and an officer on horseback certainly is able to move with more velocity than a corps of infantry. It was an open field, not a strait and narrow path, that led to the redoubt, the breast-work and the rail-fence. Officers no doubt traversed the field, sometimes meeting troops, sometimes passing them, in various directions, as their duty required. No part of the fight was hotter or more fatal than at that part of the line occupied by Knowlton's company. Mr. Grosvenor, it will be recollected,—who testifies to the presence of General Putnam, on the spot, and at the moment,—belonged to this company. In order to understand the operations of the day, it should be borne in mind that the object of the British was to dislodge the troops from the redoubt. To effect this object, in addition to the firing kept up by the artillery from Boston, an attempt was made to cut it off from succours in the rear. The first operation of the British infantry was a movement on the flank ; and it was to prevent the success of this movement, that the rail-fence was thrown up. Being repulsed in this attempt, the British, on the arrival of the reinforcement, changed their mode of operation, and proceeded to a direct assault of the fort itself, in which they succeeded. The following extract from the account published at the time by the Massachusetts Congress, is quite intelligible.

'Our troops, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire until they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchments; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breastwork from one end of it to the other, our troops retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in front of their army, was redoubled. They attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; our ammunition was expended, and but few of our men had bayonets to affix to their muskets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? But this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and our troops had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the but-end of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of our men,' (that is, the party at the rail-fence,) 'who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evinced a courage worthy of a better cause; all their efforts however were insufficient to compel their equally gallant opponents to retreat, till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.'

The fact is, that the troops at the rail-fence, a part of which belonged to Putnam's regiment, and were more immediately under his command, never were repulsed and did not retreat, till the fort itself, the whole original object of the battle, was abandoned. The deficiency of force was in the redoubt, and if Putnam had been able to have reinforced Prescott there, it would have been in the highest degree advantageous. But this does not appear to have been in his power, for it seems to have been with the greatest difficulty that the flanking parties of the enemy were kept from entirely surrounding the fort.

If, however, we are mistaken in the result of this evidence, and it be not yet proved that General Putnam was actually in the battle, or even if it should be or could be proved, on the other hand, that he was not in the battle, still the charge brought by General Dearborn is not at all made out. The charge is a charge of *misbehaviour* and *cowardice*. To make this good, much more would be necessary than to prove his absence from the field. It must be shewn that he ought to have been there; that it was his duty to be there; that he had a command there; and that his absence was imputable *to personal fear*, and was in disobedience of orders, and violation of duty. It cannot be forgotten, that the amount of what General Dearborn has said is as we have stated; and whether Putnam was in the battle or not, is not the main question; but the main question is, was he guilty of *cowardice*, and did he deserve *execration?* It is needless, we think, to state that no such charge is in the least degree supported by the evidence.

We have hitherto omitted to notice General Dearborn's account of the conversation at Governor Bowdoin's table, and the expression of Colonel Prescott, relative to General Putnam, on that occasion. And we have also forborne to quote the statements of the Reverend Messrs. Chaplin and Bullard; an extract of which, however, we must now lay before our readers. 'Colonel Prescott informed us repeatedly, that when a retreat was ordered and commenced, and he was descending the hill, he met General Putnam, and said to him, "why did you not support me, General, with your men, as I had reason to expect, according to agreement?" Putnam answered, "I could not drive the dogs up." Prescott pointedly said to him, "if you could not *drive* them up, you might have *led* them up."

We have no disposition to question the personal veracity of General Dearborn; although we think there is just and great reason to complain of his habit of round and sweeping assertion, and of delivering his own opinions and impressions as so many positive facts. We know too the high reputation and character of the Reverend gentlemen from whose account we have taken the foregoing quotation. Notwithstanding all this, we are willing to believe that some misapprehension or misrecollection exists, in regard to both these relations. We indulge this feeling as much, at least, out of regard to Prescott as to Putnam. The first of these reported expressions is of that sort, which justifies a suspicion, that it may be at least a *translation* of Colonel Prescott's remarks into the language of the author of the 'account.' It is too late to inquire into the truth of this reported conversation, either from Colonel Prescott or Governor Bowdoin. It must therefore rest on the declaration of General Dearborn, which never can be contradicted. But who can be reconciled to the manner in which this declaration, whether accurately reported or not, is now made public? General Dearborn probably knows that Colonel Prescott and General Putnam kept up a friendly acquaintance during their lives. He knows that these two officers have left sons, reputable and distinguished in the society of the present times. Does he choose to be the occasion of heart-burnings and strife among the sons of brave men? If he finds men of respectability entertaining towards each other sentiments of friendship and esteem, does he feel it his duty to say to them, 'the father of one of you pronounced the father of the other to be a coward?'—Whether we look to the truth and value of historic narrative, to the character of the dead, or the feelings of the living, we see enough to induce us to mark, as far as our expression of decided disapprobation may mark, the recital in such coarse terms of table conversation, even if there were less reason than there is, to think that such conversation was not misunderstood or misrecollected.

We hope that Messrs. Chaplin and Bullard may have imputed to Colonel Prescott, through mistake, observations they may have heard from others. Their regard for Prescott cannot be greater than ours, and we repeat, that it is on *his* account, we are willing to suppose that there is some error in these reported conversations. In this reply, said to have been given by Prescott to Putnam in the field, there is a *tartness*, and an air of wit, which would seem to render a later origin of the remarks probable. These smart sayings and epigrammatic speeches are more generally made *after* than *on* the occasion.

But even admitting that Prescott made use of these or similar declarations, we think they weigh little against Putnam. There was no plan or concert among the leaders.

Each was to be the sole and exclusive judge of the course most proper to be pursued. No one of course could correctly decide upon the conduct of another in this state of things.

As to the anecdote related by Colonel Small, we are not certain that it ought not to be believed, although it must be confessed, it wears a little the aspect of romance. But we know that Putnam was well acquainted with very many of the British officers, and Colonel Small among others,—that they had a very high regard for him, and that he entertained towards them the friendly spirit of a former companion. There is, and can be, no doubt that Colonel Small has stated this fact; and there is the positive declaration of Colonel Putnam, that his father mentioned the same occurrence to him shortly after it happened. Very probably there is one mistake into which Colonel Trumbull may have fallen, and which has given rise to the contradiction of Colonel Small's account to Judge Parker's.—It was not at the *redoubt*, that this happened, but at the *breastwork*, or the *rail-fence*. Admitting this to have crept into the account given by Colonel Trumbull, the essential facts remain altogether uncontradicted.

We shall only add in relation to General Putnam's conduct in the battle of Bunker Hill, the following extracts, which we shall leave to make their proper impression, without further note or comment.

From the Honourable William Tudor.

'Soon after the arrival of General Washington as commander in chief of the American forces at Cambridge, in July, 1775,—Court martials were ordered to be holden for the trials of different officers, who were supposed to have misbehaved in the important action on Breed's Hill on the seventeenth of June; at all of which I acted as judge advocate. In the inquiry, which these trials occasioned, I never heard any insinuation against the conduct of General Putnam, who appeared to have been there without any command; for there was no authorized commander.—Colonel Prescott appeared to have been the chief.'

From the Honourable John Adams to Daniel Putnam, Esq.

'*Quincy, June* 5, 1818.

'You ask whether any dissatisfaction existed in the public mind against General Putnam, in consequence of any part of his conduct on the seventeenth of June, 1775. I was in Philadelphia from the fifth of May through the summer of 1775, and can testify as a witness to nothing which passed at Charlestown on the seventeenth of June.

'But this I do say without reserve, that I never heard the least insinuation of dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Putnam through his whole life.—And had the characters of General Green, General Lincoln, General Knox, General La Fayette, or even General Warren, General Montgomery, or General Mercer been called in question, it would not have surprised me more. There must have been some great misunderstanding in this affair. I seem to see intuitively, or to feel instinctively to the truth of Major Small's testimony; but it would require a sheet of paper to state what I have in memory, relative to Major Small and General Warren.'

But, as we before stated, the author of the 'account' not only charges General Putnam with misbehaviour at the battle of Bunker Hill, but denies him merit as an officer generally. He says his popularity was '*ephemeral*' and '*unaccountable*,' and that when it had faded away, 'and the minds of the people were released from the shackles of a delusive trance, the circumstances relating to Bunker Hill *were viewed and talked of in a very different light*, and that the selection of the unfortunate Colonel Gerrish as a *scape-goat*, was considered as a *mysterious* and *inexplicable event*.'

Now is it true, that General Putnam's popularity *ever* faded away?—Did it prove to be *ephemeral? When* did it subside?—Who released the people from their delusive trance; and who were those wise persons, who, after this had happened, *talked* of the circumstances of the battle in a *very different light? Who are they*, who considered the arrest of Colonel Gerrish as the selection of a *scape-goat*, and a mysterious and inexplicable event?

If the author of the 'account' alleges, that subsequent events so far developed either Putnam's general character, or the merit of his conduct at the battle of Bunker Hill, as to have seriously and injuriously affected his reputation, he ought to prove what he alleges. *He has given no evidence of it.* We know of none, in history, or tradition. We believe that General Putnam retained his reputation till his death. His popularity, which is called 'ephemeral' and 'unaccountable,' was founded on a long course of useful services, as will appear by a brief recurrence to the history of his life.

General Putnam was born at Salem, in this state, but went to Connecticut at the age of twenty or twenty-one. At the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1756,—commonly called in this country the French war,—he was appointed Captain of a company of provincial troops, to serve against the French and Indians. 'It is not,' said Mr. Ames, 'in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated, but it is there they are formed.' Of this discipline, Putnam had a full share. He was created a Major in 1759, in which year he distinguished himself by his uncommonly good conduct in extinguishing a fire which had broken out in the barracks, at Fort Edward, and threatened the magazine, which was within twelve feet of the barracks. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the troops, the fire continued to make progress, and to approach the magazine.

'Putnam stood,' says his biographer, 'so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of thick blanket-mittens were burnt entirely from his hands; he was supplied with another pair dipt in water. Colonel Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down. But he intreated that he might be permitted to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the Fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed, "if we must be blown up, we will go altogether." At last, when the barracks were seen to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued, from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets, to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepiditation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one hour and a half with that terrible element. His legs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered.' [*Humphreys' Life of Putnam.*]

Soon after this he was taken prisoner, in a battle with the Indians.

'Having discharged his fusee several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well-proportioned savage. This *warrior*, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous warhoop sprang forward, with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender; and having disarmed and bound him fast to a tree, returned to the battle.'—In the further progress of this battle, the two parties alternately gained and lost ground.—'This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour. So equally balanced, and so obstinate was the fight! At one moment, while the battle swerved in favour of the enemy, a young savage chose an odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound. He might have despatched him at a blow. But he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head, or rather it should seem his object was to see how near he could throw it without touching him. The weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French Bas-officer, (a much more inveterate savage by nature, though descended from so humane and polished a nation,) perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fusee within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire. Ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honour or of nature; deaf to their voice, and dead to sensibility, he violently and repeatedly pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the but of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.'

'At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman, seconded by the persevering valour of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord After he had marched, through no pleasant paths, in this painful manner for many a tedious mile, the party, (who were excessively fatigued,) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature; and the pain was become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated the Irish interpreter to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the savages, that they would knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time the Indian who captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of mocasons, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.'

'That savage chief again returned to the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom, besides innumerable other outrages, they had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound with a tomahawk in the left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance in a circle round him. They accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze run fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as circumstances could permit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang, but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past,—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things,—when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself —to whom a savage, unwilling to see another human sacrifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal powwas and hellish orgies he suddenly ended.'

Putnam was carried to Canada; afterwards exchanged, promoted to be a colonel, and served through the remainder of the war. When the peace of 1763 took place, 'at the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction he laid aside his uniform, and returned to his plough.'

General Putnam took an early and deep interest in the questions which grew out of the Stamp Act, and in all that related to the dispute between England and America. The battle of Lexington at length put this dispute to the arbitration of the sword. 'Putnam, who was ploughing when he heard the news, left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment under authority of the legislature, and speedily returned to Cambridge.' The progress of his promotion in the revolutionary army is stated in his son's 'Letter to General Dearborn.' His services are well known, and we believe justly appreciated by the country. A paralytic shock compelled him to retire in December, 1779, holding at that time the *second* rank of command in the American army. We shall add only an extract from an affectionate letter of General Washington to General Putnam, in June 1783.

'Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 20th of May, I received with much pleasure. For I can assure you, that, among the many worthy and meritorious officers, with whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service through the course of this war, and from whose cheerful assistance in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, the *name* of a *Putnam* is not forgotten; nor will it be, but with that stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues through which we have struggled, for the preservation and establishment of the rights, liberties, and independence of our country.'

Even the slight review which we have been able to take of General Putnam's previous military services, will, we think, be sufficient to satisfy any one that his popularity, when he joined the army at Cambridge, was not 'unaccountable.'

General Putnam was an uneducated man. In the science of his profession he could not, of course, be greatly accomplished. He made his way by the force and enterprize of his character, and his devotion to the public interest. He was suited to the times, and the times were suited to him. Habituated, from early life, to an acquaintance with the *militia*, trained in the school of Indian and colonial warfare, of integrity above suspicion, and of courage not to be doubted, much esteemed by the people of Connecticut, and a warm friend to the revolution, it could hardly be otherwise than that he should possess that weight and consideration which is called an 'unaccountable popularity.'

We shall now take leave of this subject, so far as General Putnam is concerned. There remain, however, a few remarks upon other topics. It has already been observed, that the 'Account' contains several things worthy of being communicated to the public; but if it is put forth as a full and ample narrative of all that took place in the battle, and all that related to it, it is greatly deficient. The author, as we have seen, does not spare censure, where he thinks it deserved, and in some instances withholds not praise; but in others he is silent, where the highest commendation is due. If we mistake not, he only mentions Prescott once, in the whole account, and then merely for the purpose of reciting his conversation at Governor Bowdoin's. Now we have no idea of a just and proper account of the battle of Bunker Hill, which does not place Colonel Prescott in a conspicuous posture. In any true picture, he ought to stand out from the canvass, in the most prominent manner. He commanded the most important post; nobody had a right to command over him; and he acquitted himself with great gallantry.

Perhaps it may not be generally known that he *solicited* this command. Yet such, we believe, was the fact. We have a letter before us from the Rev. Mr. Whitney of Pomfret, in which he states, that at Cambridge, the evening before the battle, he was present at the head quarters of the army, when Prescott *solicited to be put on this service.*

The author of the 'Account' says, *that no officer assumed the command, undertook to form the troops, or gave any orders in the course of the action, that he heard, except Colonel Stark.* This is most extraordinary. Did *Prescott* assume no command? Did *he* give no orders? Who commanded in the redoubt, the great and important point in the field? In truth, if there was any commander in chief in the action, it was Prescott. From the first breaking of the ground to the retreat, he acted *the most important part,* and if it were now proper to give the battle a name, from any distinguished agent in it, it should be called Prescott's Battle.

Towards the conclusion of the 'Account' we find the following paragraph ;—'General *Ward,* then commander in chief, *remained at his quarters in Cambridge,* and apparently took no *interest* or *part* in the transactions of the day.' The words in italics are thus printed in the 'Account.'—The author undoubtedly intends that they shall have a meaning ; and that that meaning shall be a reproach on the character of General Ward. He remained at *his* quarters, in Cambridge, it is said. This is very true, for he was commander in chief of the Massachusetts troops, and Cambridge was head quarters. The troops that fought the battle were *detached,* to do a particular service, and that service unexpectedly led to an engagement. But it is said that General Ward apparently took no *interest,* (with an emphasis on the expression,) in the transactions of the day. What ground for this assertion ? The author did not see General Ward ;—he knew nothing of his counsels, his resolutions, or his conduct. How then can he say, that he took no *interest* in the transactions of the day ? Merely because General Dearborn did not see General Ward at Bunker Hill,—where, as far as appears, it was not his duty to be,—this round, bold, and wholly *unauthorized* declaration is made, that he apparently *took no interest in the transactions of the day.* This *license* of speech is altogether unpardonable. We can find no apology for it on an occasion in which the writer professes that his object is, to perform the duty which he owes 'to the characters of those brave officers, who bore a share in the hardships of the Revolution.'

That General Ward did take a most anxious interest in the transactions of that day, the consultations had with his officers, and the reasons which governed him, in relation to the reinforcements for the battle,—may be learned from many who partook in those consultations, and who know those reasons. Among others, we have no doubt that Governor Brooks,—who passed under the fire of the enemy's ships and gunboats, from the place of the battle to Cambridge, for reinforcements, which were ordered by General Ward,—can speak satisfactorily to this point.

In undertaking the labour of collecting and transcribing the evidence, which we have now laid before the public, and in making the remarks with which we have accompanied it, we have been exclusively governed by that *regard to character,* which we ever wish to cherish in ourselves, and in the community. We have espoused no private controversies, nor composed this article from the impulse of any private or personal feeling.

We have lately had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the life of Patrick Henry. In that work, we thought the author had gone to the extreme of commendation, and bestowed his praises with too liberal a hand. He seemed to put his heart into his work, and to feel that he elevated his own character, and the character of the state to which he belonged, in proportion as he raised the reputation of the subject of his biography. The duty which *he* thought he owed to posterity, was to present a portrait of his countryman, drawn with all the favour and to the utmost advantage, to say the least of it, which truth would permit.

How different, in all respects, is the spirit of the work which we have here noticed. The contrast which these productions manifest, in relation to the sort of feelings in which they originated, and their widely different tendency and consequences, open a very interesting topic, from which we must forbear for the present, but on which it is time that some one, who sees and feels its importance, should address himself to the good sense of New England. Let us remember that we have nothing more precious than the reputation of our distinguished men, civil or military, living or dead. Let us deprecate the spirit that depreciates merit; and let us embrace in all its extent and spirit, that maxim,—full of the soundest wisdom and fit to be urged, again and again, with all possible earnestness,—*character is power.*

Art. XII.—*Demetrius, the Hero of the Don. An Epic Poem. By Alexis Eustaphieve.* Boston; Munroe & Francis. 1818. pp. 256. 12mo.

We admire the undaunted enterprise of this author. He is by birth a foreigner, and his case therefore is, we believe, an unparalleled phenomenon. It has hitherto been considered the last effort of human genius to compose an epic poem, even though one is surrounded by all the facilities which are derived from an intimate and thorough knowledge of his native tongue. But we have here a writer, who, exulting in a conscious superfluity of talent, and running over, as it were, with all sorts of epic capabilities, gratuitously comes forth in the elaborate garb of a foreign language. This of itself is enough to fill us with admiration. But our surprise swells to a trembling yet pleasing ecstacy, bordering on the terrible, when we meditate on the sublime daring of an author, who, after the two first reviews of the age had admonished him of his want of skill in writing English prose, makes his very next public appearance in the much more delicate and perilous art of writing English poetry. In vain had the Quarterly informed him that he was 'ill-schooled in bolted language'—or the Edinburgh, in much less poetic and gentle terms, declared its belief, that he was 'some unprosperous member of the paragraphic corps, whose matter and manner were that of the worst party-newspapers.' In defiance of these alleged disqualifications, he makes an immediate and awful transition from an ephemeral pamphlet in prose to a heroic poem.

But besides the agreeably violent agitations into which we were thrown by this chivalrous and interesting defiance of the author, we have a somewhat calmer pleasure to acknowledge, and one which we presume the author himself will be better pleased to have imparted. It is, that we are highly gratified with the work, when considered simply as an exercise in writing the English language. We know not indeed at what age the author commenced the study of that language, but we can sincerely compliment him on the proficiency in it which he has attained. We have read the whole book over a second time, in this single point of view, and were gratified and surprised in every page by the ability with which Mr. Eustaphieve has executed his grammatical task, and by the very small number of marks which we made against the instances of violated syntax or false construction. Of these, we will here give a compendious list, which we hope will act as a kind of reproof, not in the least degree against the writer, but against those of his English or American friends, to whose inspection the work must undoubtedly have been submitted, but who have neglected to point out several prominent inaccuracies and entirely un-English phrases, which might have been amended.

The affected omission of the definite article, which in the rapid and octo-syllabic lines of Scott was never more than half pardonable, is quite inadmissible in the stately diction of an epic poem;

'Wilt thou accept
'The homage stampt so deep with seal of truth.' p. 10.
'He heard a sigh, that sigh was last;'—

and two or three other cases of the like nature.

Somewhat akin to this fault is the author's frequent personification, or rather generalization, or we know not what to call it, of things and actions that cannot bear the operation to which he subjects them.

'Eternal smile
Plays on her lips, ——' p. 26.
'And in Community's whole sphere so wide.' p. 76.
'Indignant Spirit now possess'd
The list'ning multitude.' Canto 3.
'the aid of deeper shaded clouds
'Which moon threw o'er her face.' p. 178.
Quite spent in swoon's unnerving slumber.' p. 230.
'the abyss profound
Of Statesman's inmost heart.' Canto 3.

But more striking than either of these classes of examples, and much more frequent, though still exhibiting the same unrelenting persecution of the article, is the author's use of the word *same*.

'He ever reigns with same despotic sway.'
'the solemn voice
Of same sepulchral bell.' p. 79.
'I gained the other pass,
'Same I was wont to use.' p. 105.

There are perhaps two or three other examples of the like kind which we omit, but the following is remarkable, as containing in one sentence a correct and faulty use of the same expression.

'Beheld the self-same figures glide away,
Through self-same dark recess.' p. 81.

In the following line, we cannot conceive on what authority the definite article precedes Israel.

'Thus, when the Israel 'twixt the walls of flood,' &c.
p. 243.

Sometimes there occur very strange inversions ;—

> 'And now, astonishment, such as would feel
> A man,' &c.
> for,—' such as a man would feel.'

The author does not seem to be aware of the completely disjunctive force of the particle *though*,—

> 'The power we now over his person hold
> Though may bring profit, we forbear to use.'

So the following ;—

> ' thy joys
> 'Though differ in degree, are yet alike
> In every breast.' p. 122.

We have observed also a most perplexing confusion of tenses, which prevails throughout the book, especially the latter half. The present and imperfect will not bear to be so familiarly yoked as the convenience or inattention of our author has caused them to be.

The author indulges in several ungainly and unwarrantable contractions—' legit'mate'—' orig'nal'—priv'lege'—' pit'less'—' el'ment'—' quiv'r—' opp'site'—not one of which an English ear can possibly endure.

The false accents are very few ;—' bombást,'—we forget what page,—' Natúre' [p. 153.] and but one or two others which have escaped us now.

The other errors which we noted are in single examples ;—

> ' while her transported Sire,
> Weeping for joy, again the tender Maid
> Greets, and *thrice welcomes* to his aged arms. p. 107.

Does this mean that he welcomed her *three times* to his aged arms ? We think the author would not defend such an interpretation. The case is, we have a phrase in our language, when the adverb *thrice* is connected with the interjection *welcome*, and both together form a strong interjection. This has misled our author, who has changed the compound interjection into a verb.

> ' allow us, undisturb'd
> ' Pursue our own.'

We say, *let* us pursue, but after every synonyme of *let*, we use the sign of the infinitive.

'Yet sure, from grade to grade, and step by step.'

The word *grade* is decidedly bad; not to mention, that the very tautology of the line shews that the writer might have had his choice of expressions.

'By furtive Vultures chas'd.' p. 173.

What kind of vultures are these?

'Fear gave thee optic eyes.' p. 217.

Is this a new species of that organ?

This is nearly our whole list, which, for its shortness, calls again for an honourable testimony to the accuracy and industry of the author.

With respect, however, to his attempts at *poetry*, we would wish to be regarded as maintaining the most prudent, cautious, and unoffending abstinence from every thing in the shape of flattery or praise. Never did a work, which called itself a poem, exhibit so rational and sober a lack of frenzy. Never had logic less reason to be offended, and never did rhetoric more modestly obtrude her witcheries and mischiefs. Indeed, all this was to be expected; for what reader could be so exorbitant as to demand from a foreigner those lights and shades of language—those words that burn—those springs of thought—and those exquisite and unalienable peculiarities of idiom, which a native poet only can possess, and can moreover obtain only at that susceptible season of life, when his power of association is so bright, and rapid, and living, that to him words may almost be said to be things? How cruel to exact all this even from the most industrious etymologist or accomplished linguist! Let no reader, therefore, complain of having his reasonable expectations disappointed, if, on turning to Mr. Eustaphieve's rhythmical pages, he searches almost in vain for poetical charms and graces, and those felicitous turns of expression, which dictionaries and grammars can never teach. He will generally find, it is true, a most scrupulous and conscientious admeasurement of poetic feet;—syllables weighed out with an apothecary's care; and the apparatus of longs and shorts wielded with a mechanical and artist-like ingenuity. But if he has not the candour and good nature which we pride ourselves upon possessing, he will be apt to be offended with the monotony, the tameness, and the unbroken regularity which will let fall their pendulum-vibrations on his ear. He will long for the bold and irregular freedoms, which our vernacular poets indulge in, who, instead of looking every moment where to tread, or submitting themselves to be confined within the shackles of iambics, know how to practise every variety of pace, without disturbing the harmony or facility of their movements.

But we fear that it is not only towards our author's *measures* that the reader's forbearance must be exercised. That heavenly quality will also be not a little taxed with respect to his *tones.* The reader must prepare himself to meet and to pardon a most palpable want of correspondence between the sentiments and expressions. He will find every variety of feeling, of thought, and of incident clothed in the same heavy, unelastic, manufactured kind of language. If it was objected to Quinault that his tragedies were all too smilingly soft, and that he made his churls to utter even *I hate you* in sweet and tender accents, Mr. Eustaphieve, on the contrary, has escaped this effeminate fault, and has succeeded in conveying the tenderest emotions in the most rugged and unmusical sounds. In those scenes, where the gentlest of all passions is described, and where a common poet would almost involuntarily slide into smooth and liquid language, the poet before us contrives to employ such clusters of gutturals and crackling of dentals, as scarcely remind us of the loves, tones and sighs of creatures of poetry.

So, where Demetrius expresses his apprehensions that his mistress may be married to a villain-king ;—

> 'O most unnatural ! thus to unite
> Such loveliness with such deformity,
> Such tenderness with such ferocity,
> Such excellence with such depravity,
> Such matchless virtue with such matchless vice.'

For the credit of the author, we beg our readers to observe, that the book is not *all* like these five lines, they being, in our opinion, among the worst in the poem. We will set off against them what we conceive to be the most touchingly beautiful passage. It expresses the feelings of a soft maiden, when her lover is about to go out to battle. The allusion to the Roman maid is very fine.

> 'Ah me ! my foolish heart,
> Misgiving still, obeys not my resolves.
> O that I had a Roman soul ! Perchance,

I then might at such dangerous hour exult,
With my own faithful hands gird on thy sword,
Buckle thy polish'd armour, and adjust
Each rivet and each joint, placing each plume
To nod most graceful on thy head; this done,
I might with joyful step ascend some height
Thence to behold and cheer thy manly strife,
Myself nought with its horrors mov'd; but I
Have not this courage, or have more of love;
My power is but to weep retir'd, and pray
For thy success. Farewell, then, dearest Prince!
Farewell! p. 143.

We will take this opportunity to extract some of the best passages. The following exhibits a good instance, the only one we recollect in the work, of what the modern critics call poetical gusto. The city of Kazan had been set on fire, and was now besieged by Mamay and his forces. A storm however providentially came, and had almost extinguished the destructive conflagration. In the mean time, the battle raged, and Mamay stalked about in armour, which the author describes as making him more hideous than Juggernaut or the Gorgon.

'Accoutred thus,
His whole colossal form, at every turn,
Reflects with deeper red the lurid glare
Of dim-grown flames, but half-subdued.'

The discovery of Demetrius and his steed on the morning after their fall down the precipice is finely imagined, and is admirably appropriate to a military fiction. Zormandel is the name of the steed.

'Scarce yet himself recover'd from the shock,
The Prince in darkness gropes, and anxious seeks
His fellow in distress. He hears him nigh
Breathe heavy, feels his noble neck bedew'd
With life's warm copious stream, and dreads the worst.
'Tis Nature's own kind remedy, applied
With more than a Physician's skill. The vein
By her mysterious lancet torn, soothes pain,
Prevents all harm, and closing soon, a change
Of posture, by his master's aid procur'd,
Relieves Zormandel's breath, and he respires
With healthful ease. Yet still Demetrius doubts,

Still fears to raise him from the treach'rous ground,
Lest one false step, with more disaster fraught,
Prove fatal and defraud him of his hopes.
With gentle hand he lifts the patient's head,
And pillows it upon his royal knee,
Waiting day's dawning light; and when soft sleep
Stole on his weary sense, the grateful steed,
Fearing to break his master's rest, lay still,
Quiescent, as if life forsook his limbs.
Thus couch'd, brave Arcas with a chosen few
Surpris'd, scarce knowing whether to rejoice
Or grieve, observ'd them first, when half the morn
Was nearly spent in long and fruitless search.'
pp. 233, 234.

We are sorry that we have but one single favourite extract more. But of this extract we will acknowledge, that it has a grandeur, a power, and a beauty, which we cannot well reconcile with the tameness and poverty of fancy that reign throughout the rest of the poem. It is well known that the aborigines of our country supposed fire to be an animal which fed upon the substances that it consumed. This truly poetical idea the author expands and manages in the following manner;—

'And now the friend and foe of human kind,
The all-destroying element, whose source
And nature baffle human ken, whose rage
O'erwhelming, from obstruction draws most strength,
And whose, oft self-born, power, the mystic type
Of soul, sleeps only when it has expir'd,
Or lurks unseen, like death within our veins,
On every side, thro' every chink and gap,
Resistless, to the Temple forc'd his way.
Grim Terrour in his front advanc'd with crest
Uprear'd, and Desolation in his train
Press'd on with rapid pace. Quick, Spirit-like,
Elastic, whole, though breaking into parts,
Varying in form, he shrinks, dilates, subsides,
And multiplies himself, yet lasts the same,
Through all its changes still of mercy void.
With tongue adhering fast, corrosive, dipp'd
In burning Hell, the greedy Monster licks
The polish'd walls by Time's rude hand untouch'd,
The painted niche and cornice wrought with gold;
And, as he upwards rapid climbs, devours
The Sculptor's and the Carver's costliest work;

Each fair adornment of the Gothic art
That charm'd the gazing Votary within,
Or, while engag'd in wonted prayer, inspir'd
With awe and reverence. His curling folds,
Voluminous, encircle outward towers,
The four attendants that long stood and watch'd
The loftier central dome, their equal now,
Clasp'd in the same embrace. From ledge to ledge,
From arch to arch, he runs, with rushing sound,
And noise terrific, like the hideous hiss
Of congregated Serpents, or the roar
Of some near cataract, or like the din
Of thousand Eagles mounted on their wings
To wage the airy war. He swells, he raves,
He vomits downwards from his belching mouth
The red-hot showers. Wild flares his gristly hair,
In quiv'ring columns parts, and with the wreaths
Of smoke entwin'd, waves streaming to the sky.
Thus crown'd with horror, and by whirlwinds driven,
He rides a thick, dark-crimson, smoth'ring cloud,' &c.
pp. 199, 200.

We ought to acknowledge that, with the exception of the second and third cantos, which are almost entirely composed of long and tedious speeches, there was interest enough in the story to keep us awake. We will present a very compressed abstract of the story ; perhaps some of our readers may then feel curious to see how the author has filled up the outline and woven in, his digressions.

Demetrius, prince of Moskow, is betrothed to Selima, daughter of Morna, the monarch of Kazan, whose battles he fights, and whose court he attends in the disguise of a knight or kind of aid-de-camp to Brono, Morna's commander in chief. In this disguise, like Feramorz, though not, alas ! by his gift of poetry, he gains the affections of his bride. An impolitic peace is signed between Morna and his foe Mamay, the ruffian chief of a horde of Tartars, by the instrumentality of Orcan, prime minister of Kazan. One night, Mamay and Orcan attempt to assassinate Demetrius, who is saved by a white veiled angel rushing into his chamber and screaming. The next day he is summoned to a darkened hall of justice, where the good old king charges him with holding treasonable intercourse with the agents of Mamay. He indignantly denies the charge—relates the mysterious adventure of the preceding night, and demands to be confronted with his accusers. Upon this, two figures step forth, and as a ray of light happens to shine upon their forms, Demetrius recognises them as his assassins;

> "'Tis they!" with earnest vehemence, aloud
> He cried, "'Tis they, by heaven."

Here Orcan, who proves to be one of the accusers, is somewhat confused, but at length in a tone of taunting triumph insists that the angel, who saved him the last night, should now appear to substantiate his charge. Whereupon Selima lifts her voice in the crowd, and displays herself in the shape of that same heavenly vision. She had overheard the destruction of Demetrius plotted, and adopted the above related method to prevent it. Orcan, being now unable to extricate himself, abjectly sues for pardon, and offers to disclose the name of his muffled companion, who immediately seizes him, and tosses him into the air, from which he falls on the marble floor, never to rise again. This gigantic wretch then throws aside his cloak, and stands forth confessed, the terrible Mamay. He claims Selima as his bride, by virtue of an article in the late treaty of peace. Then Demetrius, who had never yet laid aside his disguise, announces his identity, and prefers his prior claim to Selima. A challenge from Mamay ensues, and on the next day, which had been appointed for the combat, Demetrius goes forth from the city unattended, and falls into an ambuscade, where he is seized, and hurried into a cave which lies in the depth of a dark forest. After many perilous adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he reaches Kazan once more, in time to save that city from the besieging troops of Mamay. He encounters Mamay himself in battle, and by his superiority in fighting, puts that monarch to flight, who vows, as he goes,

> 'To move all Asia, Earth, Heaven, Hell, itself,
> Against Kazan and Moskow's hated Lord."

Such is the mere skeleton of the story, which impressed us with some respect for the author's powers of invention, though we were puzzled to know how Demetrius could be charged with a *treasonable* intercourse with Mamay, when the latter was at peace with Morna; and were shocked that at the only love scene in the poem, the lovers should indiscreetly stay out all night; and were wearied with the author's taking up almost two pages in telling us, in the worn-out language of heathen mythology, that it was morning; and were offended at the personification of Policy into a genius, than which nothing in the world could be more poetically unfortunate; and were all along in danger of being irretrievably *ennuyées* by the utter mendicity of the author's fancy, and the commonness of his allusions. However, we had very well got over all these and other stumbling-blocks, and read the last canto with tolerable ease, and were about at length to part with the author without any more violent concussions of soul, either pleasing or dreadful, when we arrived at 'the author's apology' on the last leaf. In this he informs us that this book is but the bare beginning, the incipient germ, the early dawn, of his projected work, and that the seven thousand lines which have already been given to the world, have only—can the reader imagine what?—'imparted sufficient impulse to the subject!'

Art. XIII.—*The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and South-western States and Territories, comprising a Geographical and Statistical description of the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio;—the Territories of Alabama, Illinois, and Michigan; and the Western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York. By William Darby.* 8vo. pp. 312; New York, Kirk & Mercein, 1818.

It would be unreasonable to quarrel with an author for faults and imperfections in his book, when we must at the same time acknowledge, that he has given a much more satisfactory work than any other extant, on the subject of which he treats. To present a complete geographical and statistical view of the whole western country, is an undertaking of great magnitude. No adequate information relative to so extensive a region can be acquired by the personal observation of any one individual,—the published materials for a full and intelligible description of it are very imperfect and contradictory,—and the official and private sources of information are very widely scattered, of doubtful authority, and of difficult access. The difficulty of acquiring satisfactory information on this subject is greatly increased, by the suspicion with which we are obliged to view all accounts of the different parts of the United States, from the prejudices under which almost all observers labour, and the direct interest which many of them feel in extolling one portion of the country at the expense of another.

Mr. Darby is the author of a handsome and very valuable map, and a statistical account of the state of Louisiana and the parts adjacent, in which he has shown himself intimately acquainted with that part of the country, from his own observation, made in a long course of years, during which he was employed as a surveyor. So far therefore as personal experience can qualify one for the task of digesting a work of this description, few could enjoy superior advantages. His experience must not only have furnished him with a rich fund of materials for his work, but have taught him to what sources he might successfully resort for further knowledge. We accordingly find that he has collected a great deal of valuable information which has never before been published. It is not digested, however, with great skill, and perhaps not always selected with the greatest judgment. But as his life has been spent in the pursuits from which he derived the most important part of his information, relative to the countries which he describes, we ought not to complain that his education has not made him an accomplished scholar. We should have been much better satisfied with his work, had he informed us more distinctly from what sources he derived the different articles of information, and distinguished as far as possible that portion, for the accuracy of which we are to rely on his personal knowledge, from that which he states on other authority.

This book is 'accompanied by a Map of the United States, projected and engraved expressly for this work.' It is surprising that Mr. Darby, who has done himself honour by his map of Louisiana, should be willing to put his name to so miserable a performance as this map of the United States. It might have been expected that it would be enriched with some of the topographical information, furnished by his own map, respecting Louisiana and Mississippi ; yet it is so deficient, that it gives the names of but two places in Louisiana, and one in Mississippi. It presents us two towns and two rivers only in the District of Maine, the same number in New Hampshire, and one town and no river in New Jersey. It is about equally scant in its details of other parts of the United States. So unpromising a frontispiece is calculated to excite a suspicion, at first view, about the character of the whole work. Yet further examination will satisfy the reader, that it bears marks of intelligence, fidelity and patient industry.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

Literary Institutions.—University.

Our establishments for education should be organized and conducted with a wise regard to the situation and exigencies of our country. We may not insist on trying to form a greater number of mere scholars than we can encourage and reward. It is not just by positive regulation, to bind down to the pursuit of particular excellence the young man, who is to make his way in the world by varied and general acquirements.

Our institutions for training the young however, and advancing lettered knowledge, must be expected, like our state of society, to wear a progressive character, and be subjects of experiment and change.

In our eagerness to create and bring forward the literary profession and make better scholars, we may attempt acquisitions beyond the market and lose our labour. On the other hand, the measure of improvement within our reach cannot in all cases be ascertained without trial, and we cannot say that nobody will buy what no one has offered to sell.

Besides new institutions in various parts of the United States, alterations and additions have in late years been projected or executed in the older seminaries, which indeed bring them nearer in their organization to the most approved establishments of the kind in Europe, but without apparently obstructing their fitness for our purposes. They have not suffered by the spirit of change; on the contrary, they have, it is believed, received improvement. There are schools and academies designed for laying a foundation in liberal studies, and preparing youth for the university, which are more effective, and teach more and better than could be said of them not many years ago. The liberality, or rather economy, which in some instances has rendered the emolument of the office of instructer sufficient to justify a man of ability in devoting himself to the employment, and which has made the number of instructers bear a larger proportion to that of the scholars, cannot fail to bring its reward. The fortunate tyro in such a school finds a teacher with time and disposition to give his pupil a little individual attention, to inspect his mind somewhat nearly; to enter into his difficulties, sometimes to study with him, though not for him, not to tell him outright, but to furnish him a clue to find out for himself; one who will teach the reason of the learner to help his memory, and reduce the contents of the grammar and dictionary to a state adapted to his capacity;—who will take his mind in its first efforts by the hand, and lead it along as a nurse does a child. If the pupil be in the higher forms, and be a smart and diligent boy, he is not, in such a school as we have mentioned, supplied with a proper number of stated teachers in the several departments, left for a great part of his time unemployed, stretched upon the Procrustes bed of a miscellaneous class, waiting for the idlers and dunces to get up. The master knows enough and has leisure to make his lesson difficult, to force his mind up to its ripeness, and develop its powers. His time and tasks being distributed with judgment and method, he is able,—especially if not sent too soon to college, during the four or six or more years employed in getting fit, to learn several things besides the moderate quantity of Latin and Greek required for admission,—to attend to some of the elementary and mechanical parts of knowledge, which, if not early fixed in the mind, will never be learned. He will become familiar with geography, with the outlines of history and chronology, and with numbers, and get a smattering of physical science. Nay, possibly he may learn French, Spanish, or Italian, so that if he should afterwards have occasion to use a foreign language, he may not be obliged to consume the precious hours of manhood in bending the stiffened organs to it. He may even find space for such skill as his capacity and taste may invite in one or more of the light but valuable accomplishments, as music or drawing.

There are colleges as well as schools, which have changed for the better. They do more than their internal construction or the state of the times always permitted, to supply the means and awaken the desire of knowledge and secure assiduous application to study. There is still room for endeavours to lessen the number of those whose high spring-time of life spent in academic shades passes by unimproved. It is lawful to wish to diminish the hazards of the critical experiment upon character, to which the construction and circumstances of our colleges subject our youth.

Our education seemed defective in the concluding part. Hence the measures for annexing to several colleges professional schools, and plans of instruction for advanced students. The university at Cambridge has many advantages for such an extension of its objects without impairing its fitness for its original purposes. With some additional professorships, with a proper augmentation of its library, and of other parts of the apparatus of science and literature, it would be made adequate to all the uses of a university in the larger sense. To endeavour to perfect in this way two or three of the older and more considerable institutions in different parts of the republic is believed by many persons to promise more to the common cause, than the erection of a national university.

A college or university, as it has existed with us, purports to be an establishment designed to take charge of education in the interval between the primary school and the commencement of professional studies, where what are called the humanities, more or less in an elemental stage, make a large portion of the employment, where the foundations of philosophical knowledge in such measures as are supposed necessary for every one aiming at liberal education are laid, and where the students are received at an age, which leaves them, after their collegiate career in a situation to enter early upon their preparation for a profession or for a life of business. The instruction is given principally in the form of repetitions or recitations from a printed text-book, in which the student is left to prepare himself by independent study in his own apartment,—in a limited number of precomposed lectures on different subjects, and in fuller courses in the sciences requiring demonstrations and experiments.

The European, at least the continental universities are known to be establishments for teaching the three learned faculties, and giving academic sanction to those who have studied them, to enter on the practice;—they are moreover places furnished with all the parts of a literary and scientific apparatus, where men, selected for their abilities and acquisitions in the various departments of knowledge being assembled, every part of the literary profession will naturally be cultivated, and all that belongs to the literary discipline, formation and elevation of the community be pursued. The students are young men, who have completed their course at the high school or gymnasium, and are presumed to be initiated in elementary, classical, and philosophical studies like those pursued by our candidates for a bachellor's degree, with the exception of some of the higher branches. The institution is furnished with able professors in the three faculties, and in a fourth, which includes literature and philosophy in general. It seeks to have the prominent instructers, men of superior talents; whilst in a much frequented university there is employment for others of less commanding merit, who are disposed to devote themselves to instruction and are qualified to be useful by respectable acquisitions, long cultivation of a science and patience of diligent application to its details. Exercises of repetition and examination, especially with private teachers, are not excluded, but the instruction is chiefly given in lectures, regulated respectively by the nature of the branches taught, the students taking notes, and in some cases being examined one day upon what was delivered the preceding. The professors within a general limitation of faculty are allowed a choice of topics, so that more than one may treat of the same subject. They have salaries of different amount, according to their merits, the value of their places, or the expectations held out to induce them to come to the university. They receive also a moderate fee from each pupil attending these courses, (largest in law and medicine,) which is generally not beyond the comfortable means of the middle class; and those who ask on the score of poverty, are exempted or enabled to defray it by endowments provided for those who are at the same time indigent and meritorious. The students have a discretion what and how many lectures to attend, provided they be not idle. The age, views, and habits of the student commonly prove an adequate security against the abuse of this liberty, and what these may fail to do is checked in well regulated institutions, by a severe sumptuary discipline, and by a rigorous examination for degrees. The instruction by lectures delivered to auditors qualified by previous information, and interested to hear with attention, is considered favourable to the greatest possible progress in the least time.

The lecturer undertakes to show the student the path of knowledge, not to bear him heavily along upon it, not to supersede but to assist and stimulate private study, to show and tell what it would cost time and difficulty to find in books, and thus put the learner in the way of teaching himself.—'The business of the teacher is not to inculcate a particular system of dogmas; but to prepare his pupils for exercising their own judgment; to exhibit to them an outline of the different sciences, and to suggest subjects for their future examination.'*

To such an establishment, besides numerous professors, belong an extensive library, an observatory, a museum of natural history, a hospital, an anatomical collection, and a botanical garden.

It has been supposed a worthy design to have one of the better constituted colleges in each of two or three sections of the union, and particularly our university at Cambridge, so organized and endowed as to approach an establishment of the kind last described, which should have, besides the instruction appropriated to the undergraduates, and that which is common to all residents, courses specifically adapted to the candidates for the professions. It should also be a place where a young man, who had a year or two to spare before entering on his profession, and a young man of fortune, not bound to enter on any active calling, might find courses of lectures, political and historical, with all their subsidies, physical and philosophical, on belles lettres in all their branches, and in general on what is worth knowing and what people like to know. It does not appear why this species of establishment should be less valuable and efficacious here than it is found to be in the countries and states of Europe, many of them far behind us in numbers, in wealth and the refinements of luxury; or why, because we are prosperous and free, we should acquiesce in superficial plans of education, and a defective provision for the interests of the mind. Academic institutions are the more necessary with us to supply incitements to the cultivation of the spiritual man, from the circumstance that other pursuits and callings are so inviting to persons of talents and enterprize. 'With us, commerce, manufactures, all that is profitable, all that is mechanical, and all that is sensual, will take care of itself; and it is the rock on which the glory of America may split, that every thing is calling her with Syren songs to a physical, inelegant, immature, unsanctified, Carthaginian, perishable prosperity'. It is the duty of all who would consult for the solid fame of our country, to endeavour to save her from such a destination.

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* Stewart's Dissertation, first.

'It is deemed a remarkable defect that our country, with partial exceptions, should not furnish the means of pursuing a systematic education beyond the bounds of those portions of knowledge, which are considered necessary for all, who frequent our colleges for any purpose whatsoever, that no more of the ancient languages should be taught to those, who are hereafter to expound the scriptures in the Hebrew and Greek, than to those who look forward to a life of public and political activity, and that the natural sciences should be no further explained to him, who is to be a physiologist, than to such as pass their lives in the practice of the law and the ministry.'

It has seemed a deficiency to have no systematic education for those who pursue the professions among us, and that young men should be left to obtain the most difficult and momentous part of their preparation for life in a private and miscellaneous way. The complaint indeed is not espoused by all, and the private mode is justified by some persons.—In respect to the profession of medicine, the success of the medical school at Philadelphia, and the considerable numbers frequenting other similar institutions from Hanover to Baltimore, shew the advantages of the public mode of education. As regards the law, sound judges maintain the great benefit of laying a foundation in elementary principles, under the guidance of a learned and discreet lecturer, and the difficulty 'of acquiring the law in the immethodical, interrupted and desultory studies of the office of a practising counsellor.' Throughout the continent of Europe, where the civil law is the foundation of jurisprudence, law is studied at the universities, and even the most mechanical and practical parts of the profession are the subjects of lectures, and are learned in the classes. Although the civil law is superseded in England and in this country, and another system, at first view less academical, has taken its place, yet our law also is to be learned from books by long and hard study. The multitude of books, and the want of a digested system, are reasons why we should seek in the manner of teaching, that method which is wanting in the records of the science itself. The character of the profession in portions of our country does indeed stand high. Individuals are pre-eminent, yet there is room to ask why we send to England for every law-book we read, and why the exorbitant price which these books command fails to stir up the poor and the wise to write as good.

The interests of religion are deeply concerned in the qualifications of its teachers. It must tend to raise the character of the profession, to have theology taught at a university by learned men, to collect a library, where the books that contain its history, its illustrations, its documents, can be consulted, to bring together within the sphere of mutual aid and emulation those who would devote themselves to the cause.

A university upon the extended plan, is desired as a place of systematic education to the three principal professions. There is another point of view of such an institution, less immediately bearing on what is commonly thought practical utility, but not less closely connected with the formation of the national character, and the elevation of the national spirit, the encouragement or rather gathering together,—the creating of the literary profession among us.

We cannot fail to wish that our country may produce fruit of the mind, and besides now and then a rare genius, have authors and books of her own—fine, chaste writers, historians, whom the world should read, sweet poets and sensible critics. We ought to desire that those in foreign lands, who would know our history, our geography, our social state and institutions, may not be left in darkness, or, if they have light, be indebted for it to others. We would not that our press, active, bountiful to extravagance as it is, should give us nothing but European productions ;—that it should be said, as it was not many years ago, that our best botanical researches are published in Paris, our best geography in Hamburgh, our law all in London, and our physic and divinity lugged together from Germany, from England, and from France; and that with all the fugitive pieces produced among us, which certainly have their merits proportioned to the occasions that call them forth, we should not likewise have some work in the department of taste, to which an American might appeal as a proof of what the country can produce. Will it be said, that the want, if true, is not a real one, and that the nation is not the worse for importing its literature. Many who say this, are too national to be willing America should depend even on foreign manufactures. They think we are in a manner subject to a country, to which we are obliged to resort for goods and wares. And yet it is a small thing to go abroad for religious, for moral, for literary opinions, and to cast our minds in the mould of another nation. Do they think the taste for mental improvement, gratification or information less strong than for broad cloth, beaver hats and penknives; or doubt that foreign prejudices may find their way, and foreign principles creep in as easily as foreign goods. It is dangerous to freedom to be clothed in British garments, but very indifferent to have British philosophy, poetry, morality, and politics poured into our mind from the moment it begins to have an idea.

It is thought we may have a literature of our own, with one exception. We may leave the mere scholars, the authors of lexicons and of editions of the classics, as an inferiour class in the republic of letters to be trained in Europe, and reserve to ourselves the more interesting parts of study—the literature of the intellect and the heart. This remark is more important as sometimes proceeding from those who are reputed or known to be conversant with the sort of learning which they appear to condemn. It should be inquired, however, to what extent we may expect to have one part of the literary character without the rest, or to have the useful and practical and elegant without the solid and severe. It may be said that if the foundation is in Germany we cannot have the edifice in America, nor expect to enjoy the flower or reap the fruits at Cambridge, if we leave the tree to be planted in Goettingen.—It seems lawful to desire that those at least to whom by their vocation philology belongs, as masters of classical schools, as professors of languages, as well educated divines should excel in their own department.

We would contribute our share to the intellectual wealth of the world. A literary institution on the extended plan in one or more sections of our country, must be regarded as the most efficacious means to such an end. In this way, a support is yielded to a few men of genius in the pursuit of letters. Literature as a department is taught and patronized, and not left to sustain itself by the poor wages it can earn as the handmaid of medicine, divinity, or law. The members of these professions have their own duties. They have in general no time to cultivate the pnblic taste, to write the history of the nation, or to administer those literary interests, which have no direct union with their calling. May it never be said with any colour of truth, that year passes after year, that we grow rich, enterprizing, and shrewd at home and powerful abroad, without a literary spirit to give dignity to this prosperity, without a peculiar national literature to operate on all these happy circumstances and record them in a form which we shall be proud to leave to posterity, without the generosity and enthusiasm of character, which an intellectual glory only can awaken.

A VISION.

Is, cum languore corporis nec membris uti, nec sensibus potest, incidit in visa varia, et incerta ex reliquiis, ut ait Aristoteles, inhærentibus earum rerum, quas vigilans gesserit aut cogitarit.
Cic. de Divin. Lib. II. c. 62.

In the last stage of a low nervous fever—when the powers of life, exhausted by protracted disease, seem to be gradually and silently fading away, like the flame of an expiring taper—I had passed from the low, muttering delirium, so common in this species of disease, into that calm and quiet, but altogether helpless state, which often precedes dissolution. I was perfectly sensible of what was passing in my chamber and at my bedside. I could hear the motions,—the voices of those around me. I distinctly perceived the entrance and departure of my medical attendant—felt the pressure of his fingers upon my pulse—and heard the mingled tone of despondence and sympathy with which he assured my friends that this must probably be his last visit. The family assembled at my bedside;—and I heard that voice, which I should never cease to revere, had I only this recollection of it, lifting itself up to heaven in my behalf, and making supplication before the throne of God for the spirit that they believed was departing. It ceased—and, one after another,—father, mother, brothers and sisters came to take their last look of one so beloved,—though so imperfect. I felt the tender pressure of affection as they touched my passive hands—and heard the suppressed sobs, the whispers of condolence and comfort which were uttered as they left the room for the night. I would have given the world to have spoken, to have been able to recognize them by a look or a return of the pressure; yet such was my utter exhaustion, that I was totally unable to command a single muscle of my frame. When I was thus left to the solitary stillness of my chamber, the most horrible and awful conceptions possessed me. It seemed as if the universe had ceased to be; as if God and man existed no longer, and I were a lonely and isolated being in the desolate immensity of space; and as if even I—the last existing thing—were about to be swallowed up in the infinite gulf of annihilation.

A few drops of cordial, with which my lips were wet by my attendant for the night, seemed to revive for a moment the spark of life. I opened my eyes and with joy found myself able to gaze, for a last time, on the things around me. Oh! with what interest, did I then look upon objects of the most trivial importance. The pitcher from which I was supplied with drink, the spoon, the bowl, the curtains—all seemed to me like animated and conscious beings from whom it was painful to part. The candle, situated at a distance from my bed and partly hidden by a screen, cast a dim and uncertain gleam over the room. The shadows of various objects were thrown irregularly on the wall, which as I relapsed into lethargy after the effects of the cordial had subsided—assumed various fantastic shapes. I felt a numbness and torpor extending from my extremities over my whole frame. Every pulsation of my heart, as if life were there concentrating its last efforts, seemed to be attended with an absolute and conscious exertion of the will. I put my finger with difficulty on my wrist,—and felt the artery throbbing feebly with a slight fluttering motion. I put my hand on my heart—it was the last exertion of life—and found it beating so weekly as to be scarcely perceptible, and as if it were about to cease forever. I believed myself dying—and the last impression on my mind, was that of dread at the thought of being ushered, 'an unprepared soul,' into the presence of that God, of whom, during my short life, I had thought so little and whom I had so imperfectly worshipped, to answer for opportunities neglected and privileges abused. Then all thought failed, all sensation ceased. The sound of the blazing fire—the ticking of the clock—all died away gradually on my ears, as he, who is descending into a long and dreary cavern, loses by degrees the cheerful light of heaven, ceases to hear the whispering of the trees, the murmuring of the wind, and that real though indescribable sound, as it were the breathing of nature, which the simple presence of existing objects seems always to send forth.

But though I ceased to live as an inhabitant of earth, I was still conscious of existence. Yet I was totally ignorant of the form I had taken, and of the world to which I was transferred. I seemed to have a power of seeing and of hearing, yet without organs, by which impressions could be received. I found myself conveyed rapidly away, by an unseen and irresistible power, from our planet, and from the system, to which it belongs. The earth and the pale crescent that attends it gradually lessened to my view, the sun and the planets diminished to points as I departed, and at length not only our system, but the multitude of suns, worlds and systems, with which it is connected, all faded away in the infinite distance. This universe of bodies sparkling with light filled but an atom of the field before me; they sunk a dim and indistinct speck in the void and fathomless immensity through which I past. The sensation produced by this departure from all that was endowed with life, or associated with my ideas of existence, was most horrible. Every thing seemed utterly dark and empty, and I feared that I had been carried beyond the reach of the divine power; that the hand of God was confined to the universe I had left; and that I, like a condemned sinner, had been thrust out from his presence to wander forever in the eternal gulf of Chaos. Terrible as it would have been to have entered the presence of an angry and offended Deity, the idea was far more dreadful that I had been carried where his arm did not extend, where his power even, could not reach me. But, before long, from another quarter of this infinite ocean, a ray of hope seemed to beam. A single point of light glimmered through the darkness, and to that point I approached. As I drew near, it enlarged and assumed a form and appearance similar to that of the universe I had left. Here too were stars and suns innumerable, blazing and revolving with the same infinite grandeur; and here too, system within system, world around world, rolled on unchanging and unchanged, in one unvaried and everlasting glory. I believed that I had now approached the dwelling of God, that here was the seat of his power, and that here in the immediate influence of his presence was to be the habitation of departed spirits—the evil to wither under the beams of his wrath, the good to flourish in the rays of his mercy. My first impulse was to hasten to his throne and submit my fate to his merciful decision. But just on the borders of this universe, I felt myself arrested by the influence of some mighty power, whose presence awed and chilled my very soul. Though it used no words, yet it transmitted impressions to me, in a sensible and intelligible manner, and I internally shuddered at the powerful and supernatural energy with which it communicated with me to this effect.

'You seek in vain, deluded spirit, a God whom your imagination has painted and your folly adored. You find him not, you cannot find him. Search the worlds you have left—the worlds you are coming to; there is naught in their arrangements, their revolutions or their order, which speaks the existence of any thing more than matter. Your human reason has been able to discover the laws by which these revolutions are performed, the principles on which this order is preserved. These laws, these principles are the prerogatives of matter, self-existent and self-dependent, and of matter only. They are your God—they are all your God. Your wise men have told you, that this matter and these powers must have had a creator. Fools! Is it easier to conceive of a spirit with power to create and govern matter, than of matter with power to create and govern itself? How came this creator into existence? What created him? Can spirit more than matter exist uncreated? He must then have existed from all eternity. Short-sighted reasoning! Why heap absurdity on absurdity? Cannot this universe have existed from all eternity as well as he? Cannot these laws and powers, which support its economy, have been existent and active, without beginning and without cause, as well as a being capable of calling them forth from nothing? You have only pushed the difficulty farther from you, because you were afraid to look at the conclusion. And to what does your boasted evidence of revelation amount? Your belief on affairs so important is grounded, on human truth, on the credibility of human witnesses—on evidence that has daily deceived you, that has imposed on your credulous species a thousand systems of fantastic superstition, built on foundations full as stable as that which deluded you. Then go, fond wretch! Get back to the grave you have deserted, and fatten the worms that are your brethren and your equals. Look for no immortality but that which your own powers can bestow. The God on whom you lean has deceived you like a broken reed. Where is the immortality which he has promised you, which he has breathed into you? Where is that soul, so etherial, so celestially gifted, with which you were to soar up to heaven, and there, with the eternal, inhabit eternity. Like the wind that whistles over your grave, you know not whence it came, nor whither it has gone.'

My intellect, my very existence seemed to wither into nothing as these sentiments, weak and groundless as they would have seemed to me in my waking hours, became impressed on my mind, and I immediately found myself changed from the aspiring and ethereal spirit I had just felt myself to be, back to the mortal and decaying body I had left. I lost at once the consciousness of any but my material existence. I did not feel myself a spirit chained to the inanimate carcass—but I seemed to be the mouldering carcass itself. I experienced all those nameless horrours that a living tenant of the grave might be imagined to suffer. Stretched on my cold and narrow bed, I was distined to await the gradual but certain destruction which approached. I was sensible of the commencing decay of my frame. I felt my eyes sinking away from the orbits they had filled—the flesh melting and peeling away from my bones—and the worm, whose hunger is never satiated, gnawing, gnawing at my heart, and crawling, sluggish, cold and deathly, through every fibre and into every recess of my body. This state continued till ages after ages had crept away—till I had long lost the proportion and integrity of my form—till my flesh, yea, my bones themselves had mouldered into dust—till the hand of human toil had opened the sepulchres where I lay, and the winds of heaven had scattered my ashes over the face of the earth.

Yet after all this, I retained my powers of reason, and my sense of individual existence. I was conscious of still continuing to be a thinking, intelligent being, though my corporeal fabric had ceased to exist. I became convinced that there must be something inconsistent in the belief I had been persuaded to embrace ; that I must be something more than material, for although my material part had mouldered away, yet I remained the same. I cursed the folly that had kept me immured so long in that narrow cell ; for it seemed as if it had been an act of my own choice, the consequence of my own conviction.

Again, and with renovated powers, as if disencumbered from the clods of mortality, I ascended into spheres, where light all pervading and self dependent filled every thing around me. Inspired with new hopes, I determined once more to seek the author of nature, and to know whether, as the evil spirit had persuaded me, the whole of this wonderful fabric of the universe was indeed produced by the brute laws of matter, acting without object and without end. The light in which I stood seemed to display to me the amazing structure of the whole creation, as clearly as we behold the machinery of a clock or a planetarium. In the motions of world around world, and systems influencing systems, I traced causes producing effects, and these effects in their turn becoming causes, through innumerable successions with the rapidity of thought, and with intellect as of an angel.

Yet I could come to no end, and I could find no beginning. The whole seemed to be a series of motions and operations revolving in a circle—and I could, at no particular point, trace that power which gave life and energy to the whole. I was bewildered—I was disheartened, and was again about to give myself up to the suggestions of despair, when I became, as before, sensible of the influence and impressions of some superior power.

'Do you compare, feeble and erring spirit—the works of God with your own? Do you look to find the universe constructed on a model of human invention? Do you believe that God, like the meaner powers which give energy to the machines you contrive, acts only on one spot of this vast universe, and that the whole is thence moved by a succession of influences? Can you find such a spot? Look at the structure and economy of your own body, which, short lived as it was, can teach a better lesson than all the wisdom of man. Can you there fix on one point, where exists and acts the first spring of all its operations; or trace out the originating cause of its appetites, its functions, or enjoyments? Is it the heart which sends forth streams of life and health through the whole system? No, the heart depends on that very stream for its power of action. Is it the blood which penetrates and pervades the smallest fibre? Whence comes that blood, or how could it circulate but for the heart, and the food from which it is prepared? Go where you please—set out from any point—take any organ, you find that whilst it is subservient to the operation of others, it is equally indebted for assistance to them;—the whole is a circle of functions mutually connected, mutually dependent, and all equally indebted for the continuance of their existence to the constant support of a single power, which acts at no one point, but extends to every fibre of the frame and actuates and gives energy to each. This power is the life which pervades the whole body. and is its essence and its soul. It is so with this universe that you behold. God is its life, its essence; present at once in every point, by the constant operation of his power, he supports and keeps in motion the whole. There is then no cause but him—every thing else is but effect, whilst he is author of all. Trust not to the suggestions of the evil spirit. Did not the harmony of nature alone demonstrate the existence of a benevolent and intelligent creator, yet had he still made himself known by his revelations to your species—revelations, which are dependent not on hu-

human evidence, but on miracles, which yet speak in your ears.'

It is impossible to describe the effect which these impressions produced on my mind. Immediately the film fell from before my intellectual vision, and I clearly beheld the hand of God upholding and conducting all the infinite arrangements of his vast creation. His presence filled all space and seemed to pervade and influence every atom both of the living and the dead. My doubts, my fears fled away before the light of his countenance that beamed upon me, as mist before the rising sun, and my soul was filled with the most enthusiastic and transporting ecstacy. I seemed again to have found a staff on which I could confidently lean through the endless march of eternity. Rapture thrilled through my frame, as the gates of Paradise rolled open on their living hinges to receive a spirit, recalled and redeemed from the delusions of evil. Shining ones took me by the hand to welcome me to my new abode, and celestial music floated faintly on my ear, as I opened my eyes to heaven. But no! it was life, renewed and restored beyond expectation and beyond hope, that invigorated my frame, and when I looked to have beheld the glorious habitations of the eternal world, my eyes were again greeted by these nether spheres. The dews of returning health were on my forehead when I woke, my hands were bathed in the tears of paternal tenderness; for he who had left me, as he believed, chilled with the damps of death, and had resigned me into the hands of his God, had found me restored as from the grave, to the hopes of life and the arms of affection. With my hands clasped in his and moistened with the tears of his joy, he was pouring forth his soul in gratitude to that being who had thus rendered back the life he was about to take to himself; to be, as I trust, more highly valued and worthily employed, than it had ever been before.

Mr. H. Ware

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Professor Ebeling's Library.—Mr. Ebeling, the celebrated Professor in the Academy at Hamburgh, one of the most esteemed and respected of the German literati ; the bosom friend of Klopstock, and entrusted with his papers, died the last summer at a great age. He had passed much of his life for the last fifty years in labouring for America—having published many volumes of American Geography and Statisticks. He left a collection of materials relating to America more complete, it is believed, than any extant, consisting of 3200 to 3500 vols.—18 Port Folios of manuscript collections, and 10,000 maps. We are happy to state, that Hon. Israel Thorndike of Boston, desirous that our country should have the benefit of this great fund of information, has purchased the whole, and presented it to the Library of the University.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N^o. XXI.

SEPTEMBER, 1818.

Art. XIII.—1. *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. written by himself to a late period; and continued to the time of his death, by his grandson, William Temple Franklin; now first published from the original MSS.* 4to. Lond. 1818.

2. *The private correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. comprising a series of letters, on miscellaneous, literary, and political subjects; written between the years* 1753 *and* 1790; *now first published from the originals by his grandson, William Temple Franklin;* 4to. Lond. 1817.—Same work, 2d edition, with additions, 2 vols. 8vo. 1817.

We have read through these volumes, with mixed and somewhat contradictory feelings, respecting the very extraordinary man to whom they relate. The volume first mentioned commences with that portion of Franklin's life, written by himself, which has been long before the public. It is now, for the first time, printed from his original manuscript; but differs in nothing essential from the copy before in circulation. We have been surprised at the manner in which this piece of biography has been sometimes spoken of. It has been recommended as a work particularly proper to be generally read; and adapted to promote good morals, especially among the uneducated class of the community, by the beneficial influence of Franklin's example. We think very differently of it. It is the history of a young man, professedly without any religious, and obviously without much moral principle, making his way in the world, by the force of his talents, sharp-sightedness, industry, resolution, and address, all which properties he possessed in a very uncommon degree. The groundwork of his character, during this period, was bad; and the moral qualities, which contributed to his rise, were of a worldly and very profitable kind. Let us consider some of the facts which he relates of himself. At the age of seventeen, he ran away from home, and left his parents for several months ignorant of his situation, apparently very indifferent to the anxiety which they must have suffered respecting him; though it does not appear that he had any cause of complaint against them. He habitually neglected all the duties of religion; was a professed infidel; and perverted the principles of two of his associates. He gained the affections of a young woman; entered into an engagement of marriage with her; left the country for England; and while there, sent her but one letter, the object of which was to let her know, that he was not likely soon to return. While in England, he wrote and printed a pamphlet, for the purpose of proving, that 'nothing could possibly be wrong in the world; and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing.' Here likewise, he attempted to share with Ralph, one of his friends, in the favours of his mistress, which produced a quarrel between Ralph and himself. From England he returned to this country; and two of the last things which he relates of himself, in this portion of his biography, are, that he was engaged in a sort of bargain for a wife, which was broken off, because he insisted upon what were considered too hard terms; and that he had 'frequent intrigues with low women who fell in his way, which were attended with some expense, and great inconvenience; beside a continual risque to his health, by a distemper which, above all things, he dreaded.'

Subsequently to the period of which we have spoken, there were undoubtedly important changes in the character of Franklin; as will appear by the extracts and remarks, which we shall have occasion to make in the course of our review. He returned from England in the summer of 1726, when he was in the 21st year of his age. The journal which he kept on the voyage is now for the first time published, and is rather curious; as exhibiting some of his powers and intellectual habits in their development, and formation; and discovering likewise occasionally an amusing contrast between what his character was at this time, and what it subsequently appeared to be. It is full of those details and remarks which indicate an observing, active, and clear-sighted mind. It is very remarkable, also, as a piece of composition, considering the age, and previous advantages of the author; and shows that the style of Franklin was formed at this early period.

Resolution, perseverance, and physical hardihood were characteristics of Franklin. There is an adventure mentioned in his journal, by which this remark is exemplified; and by which we think our readers will be amused; especially if they bear in mind, that the young man who relates it of himself, was afterward familiar in the courts of princes, and honoured by the learned throughout Europe.

The wind being contrary, the vessel in which he was, cast anchor in the harbour of Yarmouth, where he and some others went on shore.

> 'Having taken a view of the church, town, and fort, (on which there is [are] seven large guns mounted,) three of us took a walk up further into the island, and having gone about two miles, we headed a creek that runs up one end of the town, and then went to Freshwater church, about a mile nearer the town, but on the other side of the creek. Having stayed here some time, it grew dark, and my companions were desirous to be gone, lest those whom we had left drinking where we dined in the town, should go on board and leave us. We were told that it was our best way to go straight down to the mouth of the creek, and that there was a ferry-boy that would carry us over to the town. But when we came to the house the lazy whelp was in bed, and refused to rise and put us over; upon which we went down to the water-side, with a design to take his boat, and go over by ourselves. We found it very difficult to get the boat, it being fastened to a stake and the tide risen near fifty yards beyond it; I stripped all to my shirt to wade up to it; but missing the causeway, which was under water, I got up to my middle in mud. At last I came to the stake; but to my great disappointment found she was locked and chained. I endeavoured to draw the staple with one of the thole-pins, but in vain; I tried to pull up the stake, but to no purpose; so that after an hour's fatigue and trouble in the wet and mud, I was forced to return without the boat. We had no money in our pockets, and therefore began to conclude to pass the night in some hay-stack, though the wind blew very cold and very hard. In the midst of these troubles one of us recollected that he had a horse-shoe in his pocket which he found in his walk, and asked

me if I could not wrench the staple out with that. I took it, went, tried and succeeded, and brought the boat ashore to them. Now we rejoiced and all got in, and when I had dressed myself we put off. But the worst of all our troubles was to come yet; for, it being high water and the tide over all the banks, though it was moonlight we could not discern the channel of the creek, but rowing heedlessly straight forward, when we were got about half way over, we found ourselves aground on a mud bank, and striving to row her off by putting our oars in the mud, we broke one and there stuck fast, not having four inches water. We were now in the utmost perplexity, not knowing what in the world to do; we could not tell whether the tide was rising or falling; but at length we plainly perceived it was ebb, and we could feel no deeper water within the reach of our oar. It was hard to lie in an open boat all night exposed to the wind and weather; but it was worse to think how foolish we should look in the morning, when the owner of the boat should catch us in that condition, where we must be exposed to the view of all the town. After we had strove and struggled for half an hour and more, we gave all over, and sat down with our hands before us, despairing to get off; for if the tide had left us we had been never the nearer, we must have sat in the boat, as the mud was too deep for us to walk ashore through it, being up to our necks. At last we bethought ourselves of some means of escaping, and two of us stripped and got out, and thereby lightening the boat, we drew her upon our knees near fifty yards into deeper water, and then with much ado, having but one oar, we got safe ashore under the fort; and having dressed ourselves, and tied the man's boat, we went with great joy to the Queen's Head, where we left our companions, whom we found waiting for us, though it was very late. Our boat being gone on board, we were obliged to lie ashore all night; and thus ended our walk.' *Memoirs, Appendix, pp.* v. vi.

Shortly after the vessel put in at Cowes; where

'The wind continuing to blow hard westerly, our mess resolved to go on shore, though all our loose corks [qu. *loose corns?* which is still used in this part of the country as a cant phrase for *loose cash,*] were gone already. We took with us some goods to dispose of, and walked to Newport to make our market, where we sold for three shillings in the pound less than prime cost in London; and having dined at Newport, we returned in the evening to Cowes, and concluded to lodge on shore.' *Memoirs, Appendix, p.* vii.

This enormous extravagance accords very ill with our notions of the author of Poor Richard's sayings.

After this we find in the journal a page or two of remarks upon vegetable crabs, which Franklin was *fully convinced* grew upon gulf weed. His observations upon them were continued for several days. The reader who is disposed to think slightingly of these first essays of his in physical science, may turn to those of the Royal Society, the account of which is preserved in Birch's History of that learned body.

At page 63 of the Memoirs, commences a portion of Franklin's biography, written by himself, which has not before been published. It continues the account of his life after his return to America.

> 'I had been,' he says, 'religiously educated as a Presbyterian; but though some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as *the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, &c.* appeared to me unintelligible, others doubtful; and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day; I never was without some religious principles; I never doubted, for instance, the existence of a Deity, that he made the world and governed it by his providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crimes will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter.' *Memoirs, p.* 66.

This last statement is not consistent with the account which he had before given of the pamphlet published by him in London; in which he endeavoured to prove that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing. We suspect that those who write their own lives, often confound their present opinions and feelings with their past; and represent their former characters as much more in keeping with their present, than they would appear to be, if fairly displayed. Still the history of a man by himself commonly gives us no inconsiderable knowledge of what he really was. This knowledge, to be sure, is often derived less from his statements, than from our own inferences; and the latter may be in direct opposition to the former. Thus Rousseau, in his Confessions, represents himself as one of the most virtuous and disinterested of human beings; while his reader perceives that he was diseased in every part, and in a continual fever, with a morbid excess of selfishness.—When he was about 27 years old, Franklin says, that he

> 'Conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection;* I wished to live without committing any fault at any time.' *Memoirs, p.* 67.

He accordingly formed a schedule of the moral virtues; made a table for the days of the week, against which he arranged his list; and determined after daily examination to note his offences in this table. This practice he continued for several years; but complains that he never could acquire habits of order. As to the other virtues, he leaves us to infer that he succeeded pretty well. His list of the virtues with his remarks, we confess, does not give us the impression, that his notions of duty were very high or very comprehensive; and the language in some parts is rather coarse and rancid. It is as follows;

'1. *Temperance.*—Eat not to dullness; drink not to elevation.
'2. *Silence.*—Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.
'3. *Order.*—Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.
'4. *Resolution.*—Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.
'5. *Frugality.*—Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; i. e. Waste nothing.
'6. *Industry.*—Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.
'7. *Sincerity.*—Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly; and if you speak, speak accordingly.
'8. *Justice.*—Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.
'9. *Moderation.*—Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.
'10. *Cleanliness.*—Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.
'11. *Tranquillity.*—Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.
'12. *Chastity.*—Rarely use venery, but for health or offspring; never to dulness or weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.
'13. *Humility.*—Imitate *Jesus* and *Socrates.*' *Memoirs, p.* 68.

Of his religion, at this period, some judgment may be formed from the following extract.

'Conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefixed to my tables of examination, for daily use.

"*O powerful goodness! bountiful father! merciful guide! Increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interest. Strengthen my resolution to perform what that wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children, as the only return in my power for thy continual favors to me.*"

'I used also sometimes a little prayer which I took from Thomson's Poems, viz.

"*Father of light and life, thou God supreme!*
O teach me what is good; teach me thyself!
Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
From every low pursuit; and fill my soul
With knowledge, conscious peace and virtue pure;
Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!" *Mem. pp.* 70, 71.

In connexion with this plan for his own improvement, he determined to write a book, entitled the *Art of Virtue;* showing how the different virtues before mentioned may be acquired, and their particular advantages. He formed likewise *a great and extensive* project for the moral improvement of mankind; which was to

'Raise a *United Party for Virtue*, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be governed by suitable good and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.' *Mem. p.* 76.

This was to be effected by forming a society, the members of which should profess their belief in certain articles of religion, the same in substance with the fundamental articles of Lord Herbert; and should exercise themselves in the practice of the moral virtues, after the rules which Franklin had laid down for himself. The book however was not written, and the project was communicated to but two individuals. In relation to this project, Franklin makes the following fine remark.

'I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities, may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan; and cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan, his sole study and business.' *Mem. p.* 77.

From about this period till he sailed for England as agent of the colony, in 1757, when he was in his 52d year, Franklin was distinguished for his industry, activity, usefulness, influence, and popularity. He gradually took the lead as a public man in the colony in which he resided, Pennsylvania; and his exertions seem to have been effectually directed to the promotion of important and beneficial purposes. He was a most valuable citizen. Nothing in which his services were required was too great for his talents, and nothing, in which he might contribute to the public good, too apparently trifling for his attention. He laid the foundation of some of those institutions, by which that state is now distinguished. He was actively engaged in different departments relating to the army, about the time of the well known defeat of General Braddock; and at one period took a commission as Colonel of a colonial regiment. He was, during the same portion of his life, distinguishing himself by his discoveries in electricity, and by giving a form to this new science.

We cannot follow him, however, in the detail of his particular services; nor is it necessary; for his character in the respects above mentioned is sufficiently well known. We shall add, therefore, but two extracts from this portion of his biography.

His first promotion was his being chosen in 1736 clerk of the General Assembly. The year following, when he was again proposed, one gentleman, a new member, made a speech against him, in favour of some other candidate. Franklin proceeds.

'I was however chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as besides the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper-money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that on the whole were very profitable. I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him in time great influence in the house, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not however aim at gaining his favour by paying any servile respect to him, but after some time took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favor. When we next met in the house, he spoke to me, (which he had never done before,) and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "*He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged.*" And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings.' *Mem. pp.* 82, 83.

All this is very well, to be sure, but it is very characteristic. The whole passage shows, that the writer habitually kept a steady eye upon what was *most profitable.*

In the year 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond proposed a plan for erecting a hospital in Philadelphia; for which purpose a grant was desired from the General Assembly. This was advocated by Franklin, who was a member of that body; but encountered strong opposition. He alleged that £2000 might be obtained by donations from individuals; but this was considered a most extravagant supposition, and utterly impossible. He then brought in a bill, by which the colony granted £2000 for this object, on condition that £2000 should be raised by individuals.

'This condition carried the bill through; for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and then in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled; thus the clause worked both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected, the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which at the time gave me more pleasure; or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning.' *Memoirs*, p. 99.

We really do not perceive much cunning, nor even any very remarkable ingenuity, in these proceedings. We felt however, after reading the concluding sentence, some curiosity to meet with accounts of those political manœuvres, in which Franklin in his own opinion made a less excusable use of cunning. We do not recollect however that any statements which can be supposed to relate to transactions of this sort, occur in the volumes before us.

Franklin sailed for England merely as agent of the colony of Pennsylvania in its contests with the proprietaries, the representatives and heirs of Penn, its founder. Respecting these transactions there is a great deal of detail without importance or interest. But after the commencement of the serious difficulties between England and America, Franklin had the principal share in managing the American cause in the former country. He was appointed agent for other colonies besides Pennsylvania, and particularly for Massachusetts, his native province; and he rendered services of great value to his country. His reputation, which was at this time very high, as a philosopher, added something of respectability to her cause, or at least did not detract from its importance. His shrewdness, dexterity, and straight-forward good sense, qualities which he had, though they are not always found united, enabled him fully to improve the vantage ground which he possessed in his controversies with the English ministry. Yet there appears to have been, during a part of the period of his agency, too much indecision and wavering in his politics, and too great a readiness to go over to the administration, who were, at different times, evidently desirous of gaining him to their party. It is remarkable that this fact has not been more adverted to since the publication of these volumes, considering the proofs of it which his letters furnish.

January 9, 1768. He writes to his son, Governor Franklin;

'I am told there is talk of getting me appointed under-secretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here that I am too much of an American.' *Correspondence*, p. 151.

In a long letter to his son, of July 2, 1768, he says that Lord Sandwich, the Post Master General, had intimated an intention of taking from him his office of Post Master in America; and then proceeds,

'This the Duke [the Duke of Grafton, then first lord of the Treasury] had wished him (Mr. Cooper) to mention to me, and to say to me at the same time that though my going to my post might remove the objection, yet if I chose rather to reside in England, my merit was such in his opinion, as to entitle me to something better here, and it should not be his fault if I was not well provided for. I told Mr. Cooper that without having heard any exception had been taken to my residence here, I was really preparing to return home, and expected to be gone in a few weeks. That however I was extremely sensible of the Duke's goodness in giving me this intimation and very thankful for his favourable disposition towards me; that having lived long in England, and contracted a friendship and affection for many persons here, it could not but be agreeable to me to remain among them some time longer, if not for the rest of my life; and that there was no nobleman to whom I could from sincere respect for his great abilities, and amiable qualities, so cordially attach myself, or to whom I should so willingly be obliged for the provision he mentioned, as to the Duke of Grafton, if his Grace should think I could, in any station where he might place me, be serviceable to him and to the public. Mr. Cooper said he was very glad to hear I was still willing to remain in England, as it agreed so perfectly with his inclinations to keep me here. Wished me to leave my name at the Duke of Grafton's as soon as possible and to be at the Treasury again the next board day. I accordingly called at the Duke's, and left my card; and when I went next to the Treasury, his Grace not being there, Mr. Cooper carried me to Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said very obligingly, after talking of some American affairs, I am told by Mr. Cooper that you are not unwilling to stay with us; I hope we shall find some way of making it worth your while. I thanked his lordship, and said I should stay with pleasure, if I could any ways be useful to government.' *Correspondence*, pp. 165, 166.

Any ways useful to government! This readiness of Dr. Franklin to serve under Lord North, was after the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, it was after, upon this very occasion, he had written home to Mr. Charles Thompson; 'the sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy;' it was after the violent effervescence of indignation, from one end of the continent to the other, which that act produced; it was after the non-importation agreements of 1765; it was after that great man, the first Pitt, had said that Parliament had no right to tax America, and that *he was glad that America had resisted*; it was after the 'Dukes of York and Cumberland, the lords of the bed-chamber, the officers of the household, and most of the bench of bishops' had declared themselves 'for carrying fire and sword into America;' it was after the lightening up of the heavens during the short period of the Rockingham administration, and when the storm had recommenced gloomier and more violent than ever; it was the year after Charles Townsend had carried through his bill for raising a revenue in America; and while it was producing its full effects in this country; and it was the month after lord Hillsborough had written to General Gage, directing him to send troops to Boston, and stating that this was 'a service of a delicate nature, and possibly leading to consequences not easily foreseen.' It was at this period, that 'it could not but be agreeable' to Franklin to remain in England, under the patronage of the ministry, 'for some time longer, if not for the rest of his life.'

After the passage which we have quoted, however, it is but fair to give the following from the same letter; upon which our readers will lay whatever stress they think proper.

'For my own thoughts, I must tell you that though I did not think fit to decline any favour so great a man expressed an inclination to do me, because at court if one shews an unwillingness to be obliged it is often construed as a mark of mental hostility, and one makes an enemy; yet so great is my inclination to be at home, and at rest, that I shall not be sorry if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor indeed very sorry if they take that from me too on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me I have been too open.'

* * * * *

'You see by the nature of this whole letter that it is to yourself only. It may serve to prepare your mind for any event that shall happen. If Mr. Grenville comes into power again in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept of any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries; and that refusal will give offence. So that you see a turn of a die may make a great difference in our affairs. We may be either promoted, or discarded; one or the other seems likely soon to be the case, but 'tis hard to divine which.' *Correspondence*, pp. 167, 168.

Mr. Grenville had sent orders to the governors of the different colonies to furnish an account of the manufactures in their respective governments. It appeared from the reports so far as received, that there were no manufactures of any consequence. Dr. Franklin, upon this occasion, thus writes to his son, the Governor of New Jersey, who had neglected to send an account, of which Mr. Grenville had complained.

'All the reports speak of the dearness of labor which makes manufactures impracticable. Only the Governor of North Carolina parades with a large manufacture in his country that may be useful to Britain of *pine boards;* they have fifty saw mills on one river. These accounts are very satisfactory here, and induce the parliament to despise and take no notice of the Boston resolutions. I wish you would send your account before the meeting of next parliament. You have only to report a glass-house for coarse window glass and bottles, and some domestic manufactures of linen and woollen for family use that do not half clothe the inhabitants, all the finer goods coming from England, and the like. I believe you will be puzzled to find any other, though I see great puffs in the papers.' *Correspondence*, p. 158.

The Boston resolutions which Franklin here discovers no unwillingness to have brought into contempt, were, we presume, those passed Oct. 28th, 1767, for promoting industry, economy, and manufactures, in order to prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities.

In August 1772, Franklin was soliciting a favour of some sort from the British government. In a letter to his son, he mentions the removal of lord Hillsborough from the ministry, and thus proceeds;

'The King's dislike made the others more firmly united in the resolution of disgracing H. by setting at nought his famous report. But now that business is done, perhaps our affair may be less regarded in the Cabinet and suffered to linger, and possibly may yet miscarry. Therefore let us beware of every word and action, that may betray a confidence in its success, lest we render ourselves ridiculous in case of disappointment. We are now pushing for a completion of the business, but the time is unfavourable, every body gone or going into the country, which gives room for accidents.' *Correspondence*, p. 171.

This favour, as may be inferred from a subsequent letter, was a grant of land. Lord Hillborough, he says,

'Of all the men I ever met with is surely the most unequal in his treatment of people, the most insincere and the most wrong headed; witness besides his various behaviour to me, his duplicity in encouraging us to ask for more land, ask for *enough to make a province*, when we at first asked only for 2,500,000 acres, were his words, pretending to befriend our application, then doing every thing to defeat it, and reconciling the first to the last by saying to a friend, that he meant to defeat it from the beginning; and that his putting us upon asking so much was with that very view, supposing it too much to be granted. Thus by the way, his mortification becomes double. He has served us by the very means he meant to destroy us, and tript up his own heels into the bargain.' *Correspondence*, pp. 196, 197.

There may be, however, some key to the meaning of these two last passages, which is not given in the volumes before us, and with which we are not acquainted. As they now stand, they certainly have all the appearance of relating to a personal favour. Governor Franklin, to whom the letters were written from which we have quoted the preceding extracts, took an opposite side in politics to his father, and was a decided supporter of the royal cause.

It is an offence against good morals to represent a character differently from what it appears upon fair examination; whether this be done by extravagant praise, or unmerited censure. Honourable reputation is the highest reward which society can bestow; but in order that it may preserve its worth, and be regarded as an object of ambition by high minded men, it is necessary that it should be apportioned with some degree of fairness to the true merits of different candidates. There is no question about the criminality of him who endeavours to rob a deserving man of his just share; but on the other hand, we are to recollect, that it is not an innocent thing, to give a very large portion to one who deserves it not; and to hold up a man of very mixed and imperfect virtue, as a model of excellence. He who does this, does what is in his power, to lower the standard of morals, and lessen the value of reputation. It is a fine, natural expression of indignant feeling which Schiller utters, when describing the manner in which the glowing expectations of his youth were chilled by the experience of life, he says,

'I saw too Glory's holy flowers
Round common brows profanely twined.'*

The facts which appear in some of the foregoing extracts, if we understand them correctly, (and they seem to us to admit of being understood but in one way,) are certainly inconsistent with severe integrity, and disinterested patriotism. They are not inconsistent, however, with the possession of talents and dispositions, which may enable and incline a man, in certain situations, to render very important services to his country. Such talents and dispositions, we conceive that Franklin possessed.

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* 'Ich sah des Ruhmes heil'ge Kränze
Auf der gemeinen Stirn entweiht.' *Schillers Ideale.*

The lines given above are from the manuscript translation of a young friend.

Franklin left England in March 1775. During the six months which preceded his departure, while the aspect of events was becoming daily more alarming, various proposals were agitated for effecting a reconciliation between the two countries. Of the transactions relating to this subject, in all which he was a principal actor, Franklin has given a long account, which is inserted in his memoirs. Few men appear to have had more honest zeal in endeavouring to prevent the consummation which was now rapidly approaching, than Lord Howe, who was afterwards admiral on our coast, and subsequently so distinguished by his victory over the French fleet on the 1st of June, 1794. With him Franklin was for some time engaged in a sort of semi-official negotiation. He had various interviews likewise with the Earl of Chatham; and was consulted by him previously to his bringing forward his celebrated motion and propositions, made in the House of Lords, on the 20th January and 1st February 1775. The account of these interviews has the interest which attaches to every thing relating to that most eminent man, who, though broken with years and infirmities, came forward at this time, after a long absence from his seat in Parliament, to display the strength of his mighty mind in the cause of justice and humanity;—appearing, among those by whom he was surrounded, like an ancient castle with its massy walls, overhanging the ill-assorted buildings of some modern city. We will give one or two extracts.

'On the 19th of Jan. I received a card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting me, that Lord Chatham having a motion to make on the morrow in the house of lords, concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the house, into which Lord S. would endeavor to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the house that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning, his lordship let me know by another card, that if I attended at two o'clock in the lobby, Lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. I attended, and met him there accordingly. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, "Certainly; and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your being present at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine;" and so taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed and acquainted him that by the order, none were to be carried in at that door, but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, this is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the house; when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known that there was any communication between his lordship and me, this I found occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the house, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance. I had great satisfaction in hearing his motion and the debate upon it, which I shall not attempt to give here an account of, as you may find a better in the papers of the time. It was his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston, as the first step towards an accommodation. The day following, I received a note from Lord Stanhope expressing, that " at the desire of Lord Chatham was sent me inclosed, the motion he made in the house of Lords, that I might be possessed of it in the most authentic manner, by the communication of the individual paper which was read to the house by the mover himself." I sent copies of this motion to America, and was the more pleased with it, as I conceived it had partly taken its rise from a hint I had given his lordship in a former conversation. It follows in these words.

Lord Chatham's Motion, June 20, 1775.

" That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, that, in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town, it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders may be dispatched to General Gage for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season and other circumstances, indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable."

'I was quite charmed with Lord Chatham's speech in support of his motion.* He impressed me with the highest idea of him as a great and most able statesman. Lord Camden, another wonderfully good speaker and close reasoner, joined him in the same argument, as did several other lords, who spoke excellently well; but all availed no more than the whistling of the winds. The motion was rejected. Sixteen Scotch peers, and twenty-four bishops, with all the lords in possession or expectation of places, when they vote together unanimously, as they generally do for ministerial measures, make a dead majority that renders all debating ridiculous in itself, since it can answer no end. Full of the high esteem I had imbibed for Lord Chatham, I wrote back to Lord Stanhope the following note, viz.

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* It was reported at the time, that his lordship had concluded his

'Dr. Franklin presents his best respects to Lord Stanhope, with many thanks to his lordship and Lord Chatham, for the communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. F. is filled with admiration of that truly great man. He has seen in the course of life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; in the present instance he sees both united, and both, as he thinks, in the highest degree possible.'

'*Craven Street, Jan.* 23, 1775.' *Memoirs*, p 255, 257.

Speaking of an interview he had with Lord Chatham, a little previous to this time, Dr. Franklin says

'He received me with an affectionate kind of respect, that from so great a man was extremely engaging; but the opinion he expressed of the congress was still more so. They had acted, he said, with so much temper, moderation, and wisdom, that he thought it the most honorable assembly of statesmen, since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans in the most virtuous times. That there were not in their whole proceedings, above one or two things he could have wished otherwise; perhaps but one, and that was their assertion, that the keeping up a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without consent of their legislatures, was against law; he doubted that was not well founded, and that the law alluded to did not extend to the colonies. The rest he admired and honoured. He thought the petition decent, manly, and properly expressed.'

* * * * * *

'He expressed a great regard and warm affection for that country, with hearty wishes for their prosperity; and that gov-

speech with the following remarkable words. "If the ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that *the kingdom is undone*.

ernment here might soon come to see its mistakes, and rectify them; and intimated that possibly he might, if his health permitted, prepare something for its consideration, when the parliament should meet after the holidays; on which he should wish to have previously my sentiments.' *Memoirs*, p. 249.

After his return to America, and subsequently to his having been there engaged in very important political transactions, Dr. Franklin sailed on a mission to France, in October 1776, when he was in the 71st year of his age. During his residence in that country, he received the most flattering attentions from the court, the learned, and generally from all ranks of people. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he performed the laborious and difficult duties of his station, during the continuance of the war, with great industry, ability, and address. Respecting the part which he took in the negotiations for peace, no new information of much importance is given in the volumes before us. It is generally understood, we suppose, that the French court was solicitous, that we should not obtain very favourable terms; but should remain a weak people, under the influence of France, and dependant upon that country. It is well known, likewise, that in asserting the claims of America, Franklin did not give any very hearty support to our other plenipotentiaries, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay; but on the contrary, that he rather took side with the French minister, the Count de Vergennes, in opposition to them. His attachment to the French court, from whatever causes it originated, appeared at least to have come in competition with that to his own country. There is, as we have said, no explanation or defence of his conduct in the volumes before us. There is not any notice of the facts just stated; though these charges against Franklin have long been before the public. It should be recollected, however, with regard to his conduct, that the other ministers, when they found what the disposition of the French court was, at once took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying their instructions from Congress, which, as the Count de Vergennes expresses it in one of his notes, 'directed them to do nothing without the participation of the King' [of France.] Franklin, therefore, had these instructions on his side. It is to be recollected also, that he acceded at last to the measures of his colleagues.

After his return to America, he wrote a long letter, December 29, 1788, to Charles Thompson, then Secretary to

Congress, complaining that his services to his country had not been properly requited. 'I must own,' he says, 'I did hope that, as it is customary in Europe to make some liberal provision for ministers, when they return from foreign service, the congress would at least have been kind enough to have shown their approbation of my conduct, by a grant of a small tract of land in their western country, which might have been of use, and some honour to my posterity.' In this letter, he inclosed a '*Sketch of the services of B. Franklin to the United States of America.*' It is a little remarkable that in this statement, which is somewhat minute, he says nothing of his services as minister in negotiating the peace with England. If either of those venerable men, who acted with him, could now be induced to employ himself in drawing up such a statement, we suppose his services upon this occasion would form not an unimportant article.

But whatever were the errours of Franklin in respect to the negotiations for peace, it should be recorded to his honour, that he made a strenuous effort for introducing into the treaty the following article.

> 'If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artizans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, and places; and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons; nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of the war, they may happen to fall: but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels, employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life, more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce.' *Memoirs*, p. 371.

This article is nearly the same with that which he afterwards actually introduced into the treaty with Prussia.

The amelioration here proposed in the usages of war is most earnestly to be desired; and Franklin's efforts to effect it are in a very high degree honourable to his character. As the first step towards its full adoption, it is to be hoped that civilized nations will before long agree to suppress the licensed piracy of privateering. Franklin addressed both Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Hartley, upon the subject of his proposition; and it is one of such importance that we will quote at some length from his remarks. He writes thus to Mr. Oswald.

> 'It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it should be diminished.
>
> 'If rapine is abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.
>
> 'The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas, a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorizes it. In the beginning of a war, some rich ships, not upon their guard, are surprized and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better; and render them not so easy to be taken; they go also more under protection of convoys: thus while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken and the chances of profit are diminished, so that many cruizes are made wherein the expences overgo the gains; and as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers during a war, being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken. Then there is the national loss of all the labour of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who besides spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, lose their habits of industry, are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and house-breakers. Even the undertakers who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it ceases, and finally ruins them. A just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose subsistence was employed in serving the common interests of mankind.' *Correspondence*, pp. 420, 421.

In his letter to Mr. Hartley, he says,

'I should be happy if I could see, before I die, the proposed improvement of the law of nations established. The miseries of mankind would be diminished by it, and the happiness of millions secured and promoted.' * * * 'I do not wish to see a new Barbary rising in America, and our long extended coast occupied by piratical states. I fear lest our privateering success in the two last wars should already have given our people too strong a relish for that most mischievous kind of gaming, mixed [with] blood.' * * * 'Try, my friend, what you can do, in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them, of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artizans, and cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species.' *Correspondence*, p. 432.

It is when engaged in projects and efforts of this kind, and he was very ready to engage in them, that Franklin's character appears in its most amiable, and we might almost say, venerable aspect.*

No full and faithful history is any where to be found of the very important and interesting negotiation, by which the war of the revolution was terminated. There is nothing in the records of human events, to which our descendants, if they have the common feelings of men, will look back with more interest, than to the character and conduct of those, by whom our liberties and rights were vindicated; and to the whole of that conflict of peril and glory, through which we rose to our present rank among nations. But there is yet no history of our revolution;—no history such as ought to be, and will be written. It is a work which remains for some future native historian, who, let him devote to it whatever length of years he may, or patient industry, or affluence of mind, will be employing himself usefully and honourably. He will not be labouring upon perishable materials, and no expense of genius or art will be wasted. His subject will have all the unity that can be wished for in an historical composition; but that is a thing hardly to be mentioned in this connexion. It will be distinguished from every other in the political records of man by its moral interest, and by a termination gratifying to the best feelings of human nature. The philosopher, and the man of strong moral sensibility, may close the volume in which it is recorded, with the words of Milton;

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* In Franklin's Miscellaneous Works, there is a long and very able letter *on the Criminal Laws and the practice of privateering*, addressed to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq.

> Oh how comely it is, and how reviving,
> When God into the hands of the oppressed,
> Puts invincible might.

Among the eminent men of the times of which we speak, there were those who were distinguished not more from common men by their largeness and energy of mind, than from the common herd of statesmen and warriours, by their integrity, disinterested patriotism, and the union of public and private virtues. Those to whom we refer were not great men to be shown off in history merely; or looked at, at a distance, when dressed up in some formal panegyric. They were not great men of that class, whose characters we must refrain from examining with too curious a scrutiny, if we would not destroy the sort of poetical illusion under which they have been regarded. They were men who might be followed to their retirements, and observed in their daily actions, and listened to in their secret and most confidential intercourse, and overheard in their soliloqies. Amid the stars which enlighten and cheer us in the darkness of political history, the pure brilliancy of the fame of Washington will appear, as the Cross of the South, in the southern hemisphere, is described by travellers,—a constellation, whose beauty and splendour at once fix the attention of him who is gazing on the heavens, and which is regarded with a sentiment of religious veneration. But he was associated with many men who were worthy to be his associates. We are speaking of the union of public and private virtues, and of that real moral greatness, which is always consistent with itself, and appears in the whole character. We would not make an invidious selection; but we may be allowed to pay a passing tribute to the memory of an honourable man of our native state, General Lincoln. Men like him were associated with Washington; and who was ever listened to in uttering an imputation against the thorough integrity of his character? In a large proportion of the officers and even privates of our army, there was a real spirit of patriotism, and an ardent and intelligent love of liberty, of which very few armies, we believe, have given any example. Hardly provided with food or clothing, without pay, almost without the common objects of a soldier's ambition, or hope of any personal reward, they continued firm in the cause in which they were engaged; feeling only that it was the cause of their country. The history of our revolution will not be a mere history of the follies and vices of princes, a history of battles and sieges, of the common game of blood, carried on by the movements of armies, such a history as children may read for amusement; and such as a thinking man will read with a deep feeling of the wasting miseries, and horrible crimes, which lie concealed under the superficial detail; it will be a history of intellectual prowess, of high efforts of virtue, and of willing and generous sacrifices. The troops engaged in the war were at no time numerous; and the result of its battles affords none of that sort of excitement, which arises from the statement of a large number of killed and wounded. But our revolution was a display of human nature in uncommon circumstances, and acting from higher principles than ordinary. It was a moral struggle, in which individual characters were exhibited, strongly operated upon, and brought into powerful action; and in which many particular men, in the cabinet and in the field, had an opportunity of signalizing themselves by personal and distinctive actions. Its history, on this account, will have a peculiar interest. But its main interest will arise from the most important consequences of the event it records,—consequences which are still developing. We do not speak of any influence, it has sometimes been fancied to have had, in hastening the period of those terrible events which have subsequently been felt in every part of Europe. The ancient institutions of France fell, and buried thousands in their ruins, and spread desolation around, not through any shock received from our revolution, which resembles that of France in nothing but its name; not even because they were undermined by the most profligate, and the most desperate of men; but because the building was rotten in every part, and its foundations had been giving way for a century. It is in the history of that country, and not of ours, that the causes of its revolution are to be studied. We refer to consequences of a very different kind; to the establishment of a free commonwealth, such as had been before regarded, as a poetic vision, or the day-dream of a political enthusiast. To apply the nervous language which Milton used, in looking forward to the bitter disappointment of his hopes with regard to his own country, we, unlike what he anticipated of that country, were a nation, valourous and courageous enough to win our liberty in the field; and when we had won it, we had heart and wisdom enough in our counsels, to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, and with ourselves.* Our revolution has given an impulse, and an opportunity for their display, to all the more noble principles of human nature. The state of our country is a spectacle, the most encouraging and delightful to the well-wishers of mankind. Never before was such free scope afforded to the operation of those causes, to which we must look for improvement in the condition of our race. And they have commenced their operation. We are in advance of the rest of the civilized world. There is no question about it. In the full enjoyment of political and religious liberty, in our capacity to bear and to preserve this liberty, in our equal regard to the rights of every member of the community, in the general diffusion of knowledge, in our freedom from noxious and debasing prejudices, in the absence of all those many obstacles to happiness and virtue which man, by positive institutions, has thrown in the way of man,—in all these and in other respects, we are far in advance of the rest of the civilized world. We hold out an example to them of what may possibly be attained. The historian of our revolution may, if he please, take for his motto,

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

Too much agency has sometimes been ascribed to Franklin, (abroad rather than at home,) in originating and directing the measures of this country during its opposition to Great Britain. He has been called, we believe, the father of our revolution. The mistake implied in such an expression is a very gross one, but easily accounted for. He was for a long period, first during his residence in England, and afterward while ambassador in France, the most distinguished American in Europe, and the most important representative of our country. He appeared to foreigners placed in a nearer and more conspicuous station than any other man; and his fame as a philosopher had already rendered him an object of general attention. When it was obvious at the same time, that he performed a very important part, the mistake was easy to suppose this, the most important; and to attribute to him a very disproportionate share of merit in securing the liberties of his country.

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* 'That a nation should be so valourous and courageous to win their liberty in the field; and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their cousels as not to know' &c. *Milton's Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.*

In July, 1785, in his eightieth year, Franklin left France, having resided there about eight years and a half. He received upon his departure 'every mark of respect, attention, and kindness.' He landed for a short time in England at Southampton, where he was met by several of his old friends, particularly the distinguished bishop of St. Asaph. Here an incident happened to him so singular, that it is worth giving in his own words from his journal.

> 'Monday, July 25—I went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt-water hot-bath, and floating on my back, fell asleep; and slept near an hour by my watch without sinking or turning; a thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. *Memoirs.* p. 375.

Upon his return to America, Franklin was received with strong expressions of respect. He was chosen a member of the Convention for forming the new constitution of the United States. His acquaintance with the science of government, we suppose, will not be regarded as having been very profound. He thought a senate not necessary, and that one chamber alone was preferable; and he proposed as a part of the constitution, that the members of the '*executive branch*' should serve without salaries. He was however, on the whole, a decided supporter of the new constitution, and wrote against its opposers. In a letter to M. Le Veillard, he says;

> 'It has met with great opposition in some states, for we are at present a nation of politicians. And though there is a general dread of giving too much *power* to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from too little obedience in the *governed.*' *Mem.* p. 391.

He served for three years, from his eightieth to his eighty third, as president of the state of Pennsylvania. He was president likewise of two societies, established in Philadelphia, one *for alleviating the miseries of public prisons;* and the other *for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the* *condition of the African race.* In the latter society, Franklin appears to have been particularly interested. The *Address* and *Plan* published by it are supposed to have been drawn up by him. His last public act is said to have been the signing, as president of this society, of a memorial presented by it to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert their power for the abolition of the slave-trade. A few weeks before his death, he wrote an essay, which appeared in the Federal Gazette of March 25, 1790, signed Historicus,

> 'in which he communicated a speech, said to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or purists, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favor of negro slavery, are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans.' *Memoirs*, p. 405.

It is indeed a most remarkable production for an old man, in his eighty fifth year; and who had now been for several months chiefly confined to his bed, suffering from a complication of the most painful disorders, the gout and the stone. Franklin was guilty of no dereliction of himself. He employed his powers to the last, and his powers continued vigorous.

We have now reached the closing scenes of his life.

> 'In the beginning of April, 1790, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breast, which terminated his existence. The following account of his last illness was written by his friend and physician, Dr. Jones.
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> 'The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities; and not unfrequently

indulged himself in those *jeux d'esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

'About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains sometimes drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it, but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months.' *Memoirs*, pp. 409, 410.

Among Dr. Franklin's papers were found the following verses, written some years before his death, which his grandson has thought worth preserving for the benefit of posterity.

'*B. F.'s Adieu.*

'If Life's compared to a Feast,
Near fourscore years I've been a guest;
I've been regaled with the best,
And feel quite satisfied.
'Tis time that I retire to rest:
Landlord, I thank ye! Friends, good night.
April 22, 1784.' *Memoirs*, pp. 417.

The verses are poor enough, and their levity passes into profanity.—In one of the foreign reviews, Franklin has been celebrated for his religious character, and his sincere and habitual piety. He certainly was far from being destitute of religious principles or feelings. There is no evidence, however, that at any subsequent period, he recovered from the infidelity into which he fell early in life, so as to become a Christian. Indeed, as far as indirect and presumptive evidence will go, there is proof of the contrary in the volumes before us. The inference drawn from them is also confirmed by information from other sources. 'It is much to be lamented,' says Dr. Priestley, in his Memoirs, 'that a man of Dr. Franklin's general good character, and great influence, should have been an unbeliever in Christianity, and also have done so much as he did to make others unbelievers. To me, however, he acknowledged that he had not given so much attention as he ought to have done to the evidences of Christianity, and desired me to recommend to him a few treatises on the subject, such as I thought most deserving of his notice, but not of great length, promising to read them, and give me his sentiments on them. Accordingly, I recommended to him Hartley's evidences of Christianity in his Observations on Man, and what I had then written on the subject in my Institutes of natural and revealed religion. But the American war breaking out soon after, I do not believe that he ever found himself sufficiently at leisure for the discussion.'

Franklin, however, was educated a Christian, in the midst of a religious community; and the early and probably very deep impressions which he thus received, though they might be afterward obscured, were never effaced. Subsequently to that period in his life, when his opinions were in a very unsettled state, he never seems to have indulged himself in scepticism respecting the being and attributes of God, the immortality of man, or a future state of rewards and punishments. But it may be doubted, whether his belief in the two last mentioned truths, was not more the result of education, than of any inquiry into the evidence, by which they may be maintained without the support of revelation. Without this support, indeed, there is no sure and sufficient foundation for the structure of our religious belief. But he who has been educated a Christian, may, if he cease to be so, still retain the belief of truths, which he has been taught as derived from revelation, and still be influenced by sentiments dependent upon these truths. Though he reject the evidence by which they are established and justified, yet they may still survive in his mind; as a plant will continue to live, for a certain time, after being separated from its root. To Franklin's early education, is to be attributed, we think, that frequent recurrence of his mind to religious topics, which appears in his writings. He had, at the same time, a great deal too much practical good sense, and too much love of the useful, not to be very strongly sensible, at least in the latter part of his life, of the importance to society of religious belief. One of the letters contained in his correspondence is addressed to the author of a skeptical work, dissuading him from its publication on account of the pernicious effects it was adapted to produce. We do not, however, put any great value upon such a regard for religion, when it exists alone. He who is ready to acknowledge religion to be useful, may, if he please, find it to be true; and he has not that excuse for neglecting its evidence, which arises from any gross mistake respecting its character.

We do not recollect any thing of Franklin's writing, which is adapted to give a more favourable impression of his religious feelings, than the following letter, addressed to his niece, Miss Hubbard, on the death of his brother, Mr. John Franklin, her father in law. We quote it the more readily as it is a specimen of composition in the finest style of Seneca.

'*Philadelphia, Feb.* 23, 1756.

'We have lost a most dear and valuable relation (and friend).—But, it is the will of God that these mortal bodies be laid aside when the *soul* is to enter into *real life.* Existing here is scarce to be called life; it is rather an embryo-state, a preparative to living; and man is not completely born till he is dead. Why, then, should we grieve that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society?

'We are *spirits!*—That bodies should be lent while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or doing good to our fellow-creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent that a way is provided, by which we may get rid of them.—*Death* is that way: we ourselves prudently choose a *partial death* in some cases. A mangled painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He who plucks out a tooth, parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he that quits the *whole body,* parts at once with all the pains, and possibilities of pains and pleasures, it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer.

'Our *friend* and *we* are invited abroad on a party of pleasure, *that is to last forever.* His *chaise* was first ready, and he is gone before us. We could not all conveniently start together; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and *we know where to find him?*' *Mem.* pp. 415, 416.

But religion when not identified with Christianity, and when, of consequence, it derives no support from revelation, holds but an insecure, and disputed authority in the mind. Of Franklin's morals, there are not materials enough in the two quarto volumes before us, to enable us to form a full and fair judgment; and the information which we have derived from other sources is so general, or so indirect, that we cannot with propriety make it the ground of any public statement. Of some parts of his political conduct, we have already sufficiently expressed our opinion. He seems to have been regarded by many of his contemporaries, as having had too much of that simulation and dissimulation, which is taught by Lord Bacon.* The libertinism of his early life is related by him in his memoirs, without any expression of shame or repentance. Of his wife and children, there is but little account in the present volumes; and very little that may enable us to judge of his character in the domestic relations.

But whatever charges may be brought against him, it is to be recollected, that he was preeminently distinguished from ordinary men by his zeal and talents for being useful. There was nothing, it is true, of a very high character in his exertions or sacrifices, except the continuance and frequency of the former. It is a quite different kind of praise to which he is entitled, from that which is due to such men as Howard or Clarkson. He had, it may be remarked at the same time, little of the spirit of a reformer. He did not attempt to remove moral and physical evils, by entering into a difficult and dangerous conflict with the prejudices by which they are produced. But he very industriously made use of common means for the attainment of very beneficial purposes; and sedulously directed the attention of men to valuable objects, which might be secured without any struggle against prevailing errors. 'I have always,' he says, 'set a greater value upon the character of a *doer of good*, than upon any other kind of reputation.' He appears to have taken sincere pleasure in contemplating and promoting the well-being of his fellow men. In reading his correspondence, we were particularly struck with the following characteristic letter.

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* See his essay on *Simulation* and *Dissimulation.*

'To Mr. Benjamin Webb.

Dear Sir, *Passy, April 22,* 1784.

I received yours of the 15th instant, and the memorial it inclosed. The account they give of your situation grieves me. I send you herewith a bill for ten Louis d'ors. I do not pretend to *give* such a sum; I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business that will in time enable you to pay all your debts: in that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most of a *little*. With best wishes for the success of your memorial, and your future prosperity, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant, B. F.' *Correspondence,* p. 54.

We doubt whether ten *Louis d' ors* were ever before sent upon such an errand of benevolence; or presented in a manner less likely to oppress the receiver with a sense of obligation, or, we may add, more adapted to gain credit to the giver.

Dr. Franklin was distinguished by great practical good sense respecting the common affairs of the world; and by a freedom from extravagant and visionary calculations. But these excellencies were accompanied, though certainly not necessarily accompanied, by corresponding defects. There are some men, who see objects clearly as they are in themselves, and who observe likewise their nearest and most obvious relations; but who pay little regard to their relations to higher objects, to the invisible and the remote; men whose thoughts are never conversant in the world of the imagination, and busy with forms of ideal perfection. They regard man principally as a being of this life, with certain natural wants and desires, and enjoying or suffering a certain quantity of good or evil, generally proportioned to his external circumstances; but they think little of those capacities which in the greater part are but imperfectly developed, and scarcely conceive of him as 'infinite in reason, noble in faculties, and in apprehension like a God.' They fix upon objects of pursuit, the value of which is recognised by all; and in their endeavours to attain them, keep the open road which is trodden by the multitude. They are never led to venture into untried and hazardous paths, by the prospect of opening the way to some distant, unappreciated good. To them, that utility which is obvious to all, constitutes beauty. They are desirous to do good; but they are equally or more desirous to have the reputation of doing good; and therefore what they propose to effect, must be something, the advantage of which may be understood by the generality. But it is not more a matter of calculation, than the habit of their own minds, to put but little value upon improvements, which cannot be weighed or measured, and which make no show in a statistical table. The character of Franklin resembled, we conceive, in some of its traits, that which we have just been describing. His mind was defective in the higher class of conceptions and feelings. He was not a man to distinguish himself by bold efforts or thankless sacrifices.

Dr. Franklin's high reputation as a man of literature and science is perfectly well established. As a man of science, he was not, indeed, as some of his eulogists seem to have thought, the rival of Newton; but though he devoted but a small part of his life to scientific pursuits, he is entitled to a distinguished place among philosophers of the second class. As a fine writer, though he formed himself without the benefit of a literary education, or the society of literary men, he may be compared with Addison or Goldsmith. He is their equal in wit and humour, in nice observation, and in ease and *naïveté* of language; and he possessed far more acuteness and force of mind than either. He had but little imagination as a writer; though he occasionally discovers some play of fancy, both in the conception of a piece, and in particular expressions; as when he speaks of 'fine promises being forgotten like the forms of last year's clouds.' We will not vouch however that the figure is not stolen, for he was not very conscientious about committing such petty larcenies.

In his style, we meet occasionally, though but rarely, with some trifling blemishes, which may be supposed to be occasioned by his want of early education. But it is always admirable for its precision and perspicuity. It is as transparent as the atmosphere; and his thoughts lie before us like objects seen in one of our finest and clearest days, when their very brightness and distinctness alone give us pleasure. Exclusive of his papers on Electricity, he treats in his other works of various subjects of natural philosophy, morals, politics, and political economy; and he shows a mind which might have enabled him to attain the highest reputation as an author upon almost any one of these subjects, if he had directed to it a greater share of attention. There are thoughts and discussions in some of his letters and papers, which an inferior writer would have manufactured into a volume, without adding any essential argument or illustration. Those of his writings, also, in which such a character is to be expected, have, generally speaking, a decidedly moral tendency; and are adapted to form correct habits of thinking and action. From this praise, however, we must except, as formerly mentioned, the first part of the memoirs of his own life; which however is a curious and valuable document in the study of human nature.

In speaking of the fame of Franklin, as a man of literature and science, we cannot help recollecting how few men of this class our country can boast of, as having distinguished themselves by their writings. We are looking forward, indeed, to better things; but there is much, very much, yet to be done, to accelerate the approach of what we hope for. A great nation without literature, or whose literature is bad, is like a great man, who cannot converse, or who converses idly. Strangers will form but a mean opinion of his merits. Literary men, and not an hereditary aristocracy, are the 'Corinthian capital of polished society.' But such men are wanted by us more for use than ornament. We want men formed among us, formed to love and value their country, formed under the influence of our institutions, our manners, and our religious and moral habits, whose writings may perpetuate, and give efficacy to those feelings and principles, from which our present blessings are derived, and without which they cannot subsist. We want men among us, who may counteract the libertinism, irreligion, and looseness of principle, which appear in one class of European writers, and the bigotry to established prejudices, which is found in another. We owe too something to the world, as well as to ourselves. If we have really attained to a degree of political happiness, and intellectual freedom, without example, we are placed in a situation to become the instructers of other nations. We have lessons of more importance to communicate than to receive.—This subject of our literature is one, on which it is not irreverent to apply the language of scripture, and to say that we ought to be *instant in season, and out of season.* No man, at the present day, can give better proof of his patriotism, or serve his country more effectually, than by promoting its literature. There is no secret about the manner in which this is to be done. There is but one thing wanting—ENCOURAGEMENT.

It remains to say a few words concerning the manner in which the editor of these volumes has performed his office. There is not much to praise—or to censure. He has inserted a good deal of matter, some of which might better have been omitted, and the rest abridged. Where Dr. Franklin's accounts of his life failed him, he has supplied a narrative of his own; and he is but an indifferent writer. The transition to his style from Dr. Franklin's is rather abrupt and unpleasant. But he has acknowledged and lamented his deficiency in this respect; and there is, therefore, nothing more to be said about it. Of Dr. Franklin's conversational wit, for which he was so distinguished, the only record preserved by the editor, consists of seven anecdotes printed together at the end of the Memoirs. When we came to these, we were, at first glance, disposed to regret, that he had not spared some of his other labours, and emulated the fame of Boswell. But the matter is as well as it is; for the editor, we suspect, is no better a reporter of his grandfather's good sayings, than Mrs. Jenyns, according to Cumberland, was of those of her husband; who, though she always, as he tells us, 'prefaced her recitals of them with; *as Mr. Jenyns says,*' yet he adds, 'it was not always what Mr. Jenyns said, and never, I am apt to think, *as* Mr. Jenyns said.' In the volumes before us, a third 4to volume is announced, to consist of selections from the published and unpublished writings of Dr. Franklin. While concluding this review, we have learnt that the contents of the three English 4tos have just been printed in six

8vo volumes at Philadelphia. We are glad to have at last this American edition of Dr. Franklin's life and writings.

There is another collection of a similar kind which we wish to have made; and we do not know that we shall find a better opportunity for suggesting it. It is a collection of the writings of Washington. We wish to see a splendid American edition of these, as perfect as the arts can make it, published as a sort of monument to his memory. There are various likenesses of him, from which engraved portraits might be taken and inserted in such a wórk, together with portraits of other eminent men, with whom he was connected. It is enough to say of his writings, that they correspond to his character. They are plain, manly, energetic, and full of wisdom. His Official Letters are among the most interesting books that we have read, and afford information which can be derived from no other source. We are ignorant why the publication of them was suspended, or why it has not been resumed. If there are not objections, with which we are unacquainted, we think it most desirable that the remainder should be given to the world. Those which are yet unpublished might be included in such an edition as we have proposed; and if any publisher were to execute such an edition faithfully, as it ought to be executed, there can be little doubt that he would be amply repaid.

Art. XV.—*Laws of the sea with reference to maritime commerce during peace and war—from the German of Frederick J. Jacobsen, advocate, Altona,* 1815. *By William Frick, Counsellor at Law.* Baltimore; E. J. Coale, 1818. pp. 636.

The ancients have left us but little on the subject of commercial law; and that little has lost much of its value in modern times. It may perhaps be supposed that a great deal has perished amidst the ruins of the dark ages; or has been swallowed up in the desolations of conquest, or the overwhelming obliterations of time. Much splendid declamation has been employed in describing the maritime glory of the Phœnicians, and the Cretans, and the Rhodians, and the Egyptians, and the Greeks, and the Carthaginians, and the Romans. Without question the Mediterranean was from early times inhabited by warlike, enterprising and industrious races of people. They had different commodities to exchange, adapted to the natural and artificial wants, the necessities and the luxuries of the different societies into which they were divided. It was of course, that ambition and enterprise, the love of wealth, and the desire of gratifying curiosity, should create an active interchange of these commodities, both by sea and land. The spirit of commerce once excited, is not easily extinguished or controlled. It is a useful spirit, which imparts life and intelligence to the body politic, increases the comforts and enjoyments of every class of people, and gradually liberalizes and expands the mind, as well as fosters the best interests of humanity. Many usages must necessarily grow up in such a state of things, where many independent nations are engaged in trade with each other; which usages, at first determined by accident or convenience, or the dictates of common sense, must gradually ripen into rights and duties, and thus regulate the concerns of commerce. It is not therefore to be supposed, that the nations, of whom we have spoken, were wholly without any principles of maritime law. But there are many reasons for believing that nothing like an enlarged and general system of that law was ever adopted by any of them.

In the first place, the business of their commerce was extremely simple; their voyages short; and their shipping adapted to small cargoes and narrow reaches. They were obliged to ply the shores, and neither their interest nor their means in the then state of navigation, allowed them to plan or execute the complicated voyages of modern times. The coasting trade of a single modern maritime power is probably far more extensive than the whole trade of many flourishing states of antiquity; at least the operations of that trade were far less complicated; and yet the coasting trade has given rise to comparatively few of the questions of modern maritime law. In the next place, most of the ancient governments, whether despotic or free, seem to have devoted themselves more to the profession of arms and the increase of their military and naval power, than the encouragement of peaceful commerce. In the despotic governments, almost every thing was left to the undefined discretion of the sovereign. who would not easily be induced to circumscribe the limits of his own authority. In the free governments, the jarring of discordant interests, and the impatience of legislative control, manifested by the mass of the people, combined with the almost continual foreign warfare in which they were engaged, to prevent any effort to systematize their civil polity. Under such circumstances, it is not very probable that any public regulations could be framed in respect to maritime contracts, except in some few cases of extraordinary occurrence or peculiar difficulty. The Romans indeed seem to have been the only people who attempted to methodize the principles even of their municipal law. It has been remarked by Dr. Adam Smith, (Wealth of Nations, *b.* 5, *ch.* 1. *part* 3, *art.* 2.) 'that though the laws of the twelve tables were many of them copied from those of some ancient Greek republics; yet law never seems to have grown up to be a science in any republic of ancient Greece. In Rome it became a science very early.' Nor do we recollect that it ever has been pretended, at least in respect to maritime law, that any of the ancient nations, except the Rhodians, had formed any thing like a commercial code;—and that the extent as well as the importance of this code has been greatly overrated, we think there are very strong reasons to believe. Whatever was most valuable in that code was without doubt well known to the Romans; and so far as it suited their own more enlarged commerce, was probably transfused into their own jurisprudence. And we shall hereafter see what have been the value and extent of the obligations of the Romans to the Rhodian Laws in this particular.

As to the manuscript found in the library of Francis Pithou, a celebrated jurist of the sixteenth century, which was published first at Basle in 1561, by Simon Scardius, and afterwards at Frankfort in 1596, by Marquardus Freer and Leunclavius, as genuine fragments of the Rhodian Laws, it may be observed, that if their genuineness were completely established, they would not increase our veneration for the wisdom or the commercial polity of the nation, whose name they bear. But the critical sagacity of modern civilians has not hesitated to reject these fragments as more than apocryphal, as the fictions of some jurist as late at least as the middle ages. It is true that they have been silently quoted or directly asserted as genuine, by Cujas, by Selden, Godefroi, Vinnius and other eminent jurists. Bynkershoek first boldly denied their authenticity; the cautious and accomplished Heineccius followed in the same path; and their opinion has been generally adopted by the learned of the eighteenth century. Rejecting, therefore, as we do, the fragments of the Rhodian Laws, as a modern fraud, there is nothing which has reached us, except the codes and the compilations of the Roman emperors, which even wears the habiliments of ancient maritime jurisprudence; and so far are we from thinking that any thing material has been lost, that we consider the substance of all ancient maritime jurisprudence as embraced in the titles of the Corpus juris civilis. The circumstances, under which the Roman code was compiled, do, as we think, fully justify these remarks.

At the period when Justinian meditated the great works which have immortalized his memory—a monument of fame more desirable than all that conquest can bestow, and which seems destined to endure to the end of time—the Roman empire had passed through its brightest ages of military, civil and commercial grandeur. She had been for centuries as renowned for her jurisprudence, as for her arms. A succession of learned men had adorned her courts, as judges or as lawyers, who had left behind them their arguments, opinions and commentaries upon most of the important branches of her law. Besides these, there were the honorary law, and edicts of her prætors. the plebiscita and senatus consulta of the days of the republic, the imperial constitutions and rescripts of her emperors, the collection of the honorary law or perpetual edict of Julian, and the successive codes of Gregorius, Hermogenes and Theodosius. From these materials were composed the Institutes, the Code, and the Pandects of Justinian. So that they may be truly considered as the depository of the collected wisdom of all her sages, and as a most authentic transcript of her municipal law in its most perfect state. Nor is this all. She had successively conquered and incorporated into her domain almost all the other civilized nations of the eastern continent, including those which had been most distinguished in commerce; and it can scarcely be doubted that whatever was excellent in their maritime police, had been from time to time adopted into her own jurisprudence by the rescripts of her emperors, or by the more salutary decisions of her courts, guided by the principles of equity, and selecting with true national comity from the usages and the learning of foreign countries. We have direct evidence of this position, in the fourteenth book of the Pandects, title second, ad Legem Rhodiam de jactu, where, in a case of maritime law put to the emperor Antoninus, he answered '*Lege id Rhodiâ, quæ de rebus nauticis præscripta est, judicetur*;' plainly importing that the doctrines of the Rhodian Laws on this subject had been recognized and incorporated into the Roman jurisprudence. As to the manner in which they were incorporated, it is highly probable that it was not by any imperial edict, but by the gradual operation of judicial decisions, adopting them as rules founded in general convenience and fitted to the commercial transactions of Rome itself. What strengthens this supposition is, the fact that the Rhodian Laws are not to be found in the text of any of the Roman codes; and the very title of the Pandects, where we should expect to find them, if they had been adopted in mass, contains nothing but the commentaries and opinions of Roman lawyers on the principles which regulate the application of the law of jettison and some few other nautical questions of a kindred nature. If this be a just view of the case, and we have no doubt it is, the Roman law as collected by Justinian contains in itself the substance of all the maritime law of all antiquity, improved by the philosophy and the learning of Roman jurisconsults. Yet how narrow is the compass within which the whole maritime law of Rome is compressed! It scarcely fills a half dozen short titles in the Pandects, and about as many in the Justinianian code,* mixed up with matter properly appertaining to other subjects.

The most interesting and important are the titles in the Pandects; three of which treat of the responsibility of the owners and employers (exercitores) of ships for the safe keeping and delivery of goods shipped on freight, for the contracts of the master in respect to the employment, repairs and concerns of the ship, and for the acts and defaults of the a-

* The principal titles in the Pandects are Lib. 4, tit 9. Nautæ, caupones, stabularii, ut recepta restituant. Lib. 14, tit. 1. De exercitoria actione. Lib. 14, tit. 2. ad legem Rhodiam de jactu. Lib. 22, tit. 2. De nautico fœnore. Lib. 47, tit. 5. Furti adversus nautas, caupones, stabularios. Lib. 47, tit. 9. De incendio, ruina, naufragio, rate, nave expugnata. In the Code, Lib. 4, tit. 25. De institoria et exercitoria actione. Lib. 4. tit. 33. de nautico fœnore Lib. 6, tit. 62 de hæreditatibus decurionum, naviculariorum, cohortalium militum et fabricensium. Lib. 11. de naviculariis seu naucleris publicas species transportantibus. Variis titulis. There are a few supplementary regulations in the Novels and Authentics of Justinian, on the subjects of maritime loans and the plunder of wrecks.

gents and mariners of the ship; one treats of bottomry and maritime loans, one of jettisons, and one of shipwrecks. Whoever expects to find, even under these heads, the minute details and practical principles of modern times, will certainly be disappointed. He will however find the elements of our own law on this subject, expressed with excellent sense, and often illustrated by apt examples ;—and brief indeed as are these texts of the civil law, the whole maritime world has paid them a just and voluntary homage, by adopting them as the nucleus, around which to gather their own commercial regulations. But the very circumstance, that so little is here to be found, after Rome had been for so many ages the mistress of the world in commerce and in arms, seems a decisive proof, that neither she nor any more ancient nation in the Mediterranean had ever digested at any period a general system of maritime law.

The glory of having reduced the principles of maritime law to a science belongs to later times ; but no one of competent judgment can doubt that much of its intrinsic equity, as well as comprehensive liberality, is owing to a familiarity with the Roman digest, with that beautiful distribution of civil justice, which the labours of Labeo, Capito, Proculus, Gaius, Papinianus, Paulus and Ulpianus so much contributed to perfect and adorn. The whole of our own law of contracts rests upon Roman foundations ; and we daily feel how much of the enlarged equity which pervades the doctrines relative to navigation, charter-parties, liens and shipments, is deduced by a regular descent from the time of Tribonian.

Let it not therefore be imagined that the maritime law, as acknowledged and practised upon by the most enlightened nations of the present day, was produced per saltum, by the sudden start of a single mind or nation, generalizing and analyzing the principles at a single effort. Far different is the case. It arrived at its present comparative perfection by slow and cautious steps ; by the gradual accumulations of distant times, and the contributions of various nations. Industry and patience first collected the scattered rays emitted from a thousand points through the dim vista of past ages, and philosophy reflected them back with tenfold brilliancy and symmetry. If indeed a professional mind might indulge in a momentary enthusiasm, it would perceive, that in this process had been realized the enchantment and wonders of the kaleidoscope, where broken and disjointed materials, however rude, have been shaped into inexhaustible varieties of figures, all perfect in their order and harmonies, by the adjustment of reflected light under the guidance of philosophy.

The irruptions of the northern Barbarians over the western Empire, and the introduction of the feudal system, seem for a while to have suspended the operations of commerce. But as soon as mankind began to shake off the drowsiness of the dark ages, commerce revived upon the same shores of the Mediterranean, which had long been her favourite abodes. As it extended its vivifying effect, every state became sensible of the importance of collecting its own mercantile usages into some regular system, at least for its own government. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, and considering its age, the most extraordinary collection of this kind, is the Consolato del mare. The question, what country is entitled to the honour of its origin, has been contested with as much warmth and zeal, as the birth-place of Homer, and the exact time of its first publication has been enveloped in the like obscurity. It has been variously assigned to a date as early as the tenth century, and as late as the fourteenth. Vinnius and Crusius appear to have thought that it was composed in the time of St. Louis, king of France. Grotius and Marquardus assign it to the age of the crusades, and assert that it was collected by order of the ancient kings of Arragon. In this latter opinion they are followed by Targa and Casaregis. Azuni, in a very elaborate essay, endeavours to establish that it is a revision of the maritime code, which existed in very early times in the republic of Pisa. On the other hand, Capmany, an eminent Spanish jurist, asserts that the compilation was first made at Barcelona; and in this opinion he is followed by Boucher, the learned editor of a late French translation. The earliest edition of the work which can be traced by the diligence of its editors, is admitted on all sides to be that published by Celelles in Barcelona in 1494. This, as Boucher informs us, is the original of all editions and translations that have subsequently appeared in the Castilian, the Italian, the Dutch, and French languages. The English language has not as yet been honoured by any translation, except of two chapters on prize law by Dr. Robinson.*

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* The principal editions, as they are collected by the best authors, are,

The title of this curious collection, Consolato del mare, (consulate of the sea) is derived from the name consolato, (consulate or consular court) which was, by almost all the commercial nations of the Mediterranean, given to their maritime courts. The value of this collection has been differently estimated in modern times by learned men. Hubner, with his usual petulance has treated it as an ill chosen mass of maritime usages and positive ordinances of the middle age, or of times very little enlightened, which are now obsolete and of no authority. Bynkershoek, in his usual bold and determined manner, treats it with as little ceremony. After approving of its decision in a particular case, he adds, 'vellem omnia, quæ in illa farragine Legum nauticarum reperiuntur, æque proba recta essent, sed non omnia ibi sunt tam bonae frugis.' To these opinions we might justly oppose the discreet yet liberal praise of Casaregis, Emerigon, Valin, Vinnius and Lubeck. But in our judgment it is not necessary to resort to the testimonia eruditorum. The fact that the substance of its regulations was eagerly embraced and immediately incorporated into the usages and the ordinances of all the maritime nations of the continent, pronounces an eulogy on its merits, which no formal vindication can surpass. Emerigon very justly states, that its decisions have united the suffrages of all nations, and it has furnished ample materials for the maritime ordinance of France of 1681—an ordinance, which has immortalized the ministry of Louis the 14th; and which perhaps, more than the maritime code of any other nation, deserves the praise of the philosophic jurist. Nay, more, the Consolato del mare contains the rudiments of the law of prize, as it is at present administered; and its authority has perhaps weighed more than any other in settling the great controversy of our own times relative to the question, whether free ships make free goods. England in asserting

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the edition of 1494 by Celelles, printed at Barcelona in the Catalonian dialect; of 1502 at the same place; of 1539 by Francisco Romano at Valentia in Castilian; of 1544 by N. Pedrozano at Venice in Italian; of 1567 by Zeberti in Italian; of 1576 by Zaneti & Co. in Italian; of 1577 by Mayssoni at Marseilles in French; of 1579 at Venice in Italian; of 1584 in Italian; of 1592 at Barcelona in Catalonian; of 1599, at Venice in Italian; of 1635 at Aix in French; of 1696 and 1720 by Casaregis in Italian; of 1704 by Westerveen in Italian and Dutch; of 1732 by Cayetano de Talleja in Castilian; of 1791 by Capmany in Castilian at Madrid; of 1808 by Boucher in French.

the negative, (as we think with vast force of reasoning,) has reposed on this venerable monument, as affording the surest proof of the antiquity and the general recognition of the rule, which she has so justly sought to establish, and which has stood approved to the good sense of the three greatest civilians of modern times, Grotius, Bynkershoek and Heineccius.

As the Consolato del mare is a rare work in our country, it may not perhaps be useless to give a general outline of its method and contents. The whole work, as we now find it in the edition of Casaregis, is contained in two hundred and ninety-four chapters.* Of these the first forty-four chapters do not, properly speaking, belong to the original collection, but treat of the jurisdiction and forms of proceeding in the consular court of Valentia. The forty-fourth chapter is the proper commencement of the work, which contains, not as is often supposed, the positive institutions of any particular maritime nation promulgated by its sovereign, but a collection of the general usages and customs of the sea, as approved and practised upon in the most enlightened ages. The forty-fourth chapter, which is in fact the proem of the work, states, 'These are the good institutions and good customs which relate to the sea, which the wise men who went abroad began to give to our ancestors, which form the book of the knowledge of good customs, in the course of which will be found the duty of the master of the ship towards the merchants, mariners, passengers and all other persons who go in the ship, and also the duty of the merchants, mariners, passengers, &c. towards the master of the ship,—for whoever pays freight for his person as well as merchandize, is denominated a passenger.' The work then proceeds, in an order not very exact or methodical, to state the doctrines relative to the ownership, building, and equipment of ships; the authorities and duties of the master and owner; the rights and duties of the mariners; the responsibility of the masters, owners and mariners in cases of the shipment of goods, in a general ship, or under charter-parties; the earning, payment, and loss of freight and wages; and incidentally treats of ransoms, salvage, average, jettisons, and captures and recaptures.

Such is the Consolato del mare—the grand reservoir from which, as we have already intimated, have been drawn the principal ordinances of modern maritime nations. It is remarkable that the laws of Oleron and Wisbuy,—which are of so great antiquity, that they dispute precedency with the Consolato, and by many learned men are assigned to an earlier age,—contain nothing on the subject of the law of prize; and that the Consolato stands alone as the earliest expounder of the law of nations. In neither of them, if we except a single article (art. 66.) of the laws of Wisbuy, is there the slightest allusion to the contract of insurance. There is therefore some reason to believe, either that the laws of Wisbuy, as we now have them, belong to a later date, or that the article in question is an addition to the original code.*

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* In the edition of Boucher, which is a translation from the original edition of Celelles, the whole number of chapters is 297.

The history of commercial jurisprudence since the publication of the Consolato, including therein also the law of bills of exchange and promissory notes, would be very interesting and instructive, at least to the professional reader. He would there have an opportunity to trace the numerous rivulets, which, in different ages and nations, have contributed to form the vast and perpetually increasing stream of commercial law. He would there learn the slow and almost imperceptible manner, in which its principles have, from minute origins, expanded to their present comprehensive and systematical equity. He would look back with admiration and surprise upon the patience, public spirit and scientific enthusiasm of those learned men, who devoted themselves, with such unremitted labour, to the development of those principles of moral propriety and justice, which distinguish this branch of the law. Above all, he would perhaps catch a spark from the altar, which would light him on still farther in the path of virtuous glory, and would stimulate him still more to enlarge the boundaries of the science, and vindicate to himself that immortality which Cicero was not ashamed to court, and from which even the modesty of Sir William Jones did not retire.

But we have no space or leisure for such interesting inquiries. They belong to some philosophic spirit, who, free from the bustle and the toils of professional life, may indulge himself in juridical speculations in learned ease. Such a one may without rashness undertake the task, and encourage his heart with the consideration, numina nulla premunt.

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* Stypmannus, Gibalinus, Ausaldus and Casaregis suppose that the contract of insurance was introduced in the fifteenth century. Emerigon relies on this article in the laws of Wisbuy to establish the contrary.—Marshall in his Insurance (p. 18.) doubts whether the latter part of this article, as it stands in Cleirac, be not a mere comment upon the original text; if so, the other part of the article may well admit of an explanation foreign from any notion of insurance. Malyne omits this clause.

It may not however be uninstructive to review in a rapid sketch, the merits of some of the most eminent writers, who, in different ages, from the early twilight of maritime law, contributed to give the public mind that rational direction, which has made even the technical rules of that law the dictates of philosophy itself.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Peckius, a distinguished civilian of Belgium, published an edition of the principal texts in the Pandects and Code ad rem nauticam, and enriched them with an ample commentary, in which he has brought together all the valuable remarks of preceding jurists on this subject, and explained the reasons of the principles stated in the texts. At the distance of about a century, this work was re-edited with supplementary comments by Vinnius, who, in his best manner, has added illustrations from the maritime laws of other nations, and thereby supplied the deficiencies of his master.* Vinnius himself complains of these deficiencies; ‘apparetque ex toto illo Peckii opere non vidisse eum ullas alias leges de rebus maritimis quam quæ in corpore juris Justinianei continentur.’ He then very justly reproves the long digressions in which Peckius had indulged, but concludes, ‘ostendit sane in hoc opere Peckius sibi non defuise justam eruditionem solidamque juris et multarum rerum scientiam.’ The work however, such as it is, with its double commentaries, is more frequently quoted than read in our own times.

About the same period, the work on averages of Quintin Weytsen, a counsellor of Holland, is supposed to have been first published. In the body of the work there is no reference to any decision posterior to 1551, soon after which time it was therefore most probably compiled; and the editor of the edition of 1651 speaks of it, as a work which had appeared in Holland a long time before. It is certainly not without merit; and Casaregis thought so well of it, that he translated it into Latin, and put it at the beginning of the third volume of his works with the notes of Van Leeuwen and Mathieu de Vicq.

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* The works of Peckius were first collected and published together in 1646; but the edition before us was published at Antwerp in 1679. His treatise ad rem nauticam was first published in 1556; and republished with the commentary of Vinnius in 12mo. at Leyden in 1647. Vinnius died in 1657.

Straccha and Santerna, the first an Italian, and the last a Portuguese jurist, adorned the latter part of the sixteenth century. Their works are found collected in a large work, De Mercatura, which was first published at Cologne in 1623, and subsequently at Amsterdam in 1679.* The principal tracts of Straccha are De Mercatura, de Nautis, de Navibus, de Navigatione, and de Assecurationibus. In the first (de Mercatura) he treats in separate parts of the following topics; (1.) who is a merchant and what is merchandising; (2.) of the condition of merchants, and things appertaining to that condition; (3.) of those who are prohibited from being merchants; (4.) in respect to what things (causis) merchandising may be; (5.) of the contracts of merchants; (6.) of mandates, or orders on commission; and (7.) of some miscellaneous questions relative to merchandise. In the second tract, (de Nautis) he treats generally of the rights, duties and responsibility of the masters and mariners of ships, arising from their contracts or their defaults. In the third (de Navibus) he treats of the ownership, building, repairing and freighting of ships, and other contracts relative to shipments. In the fourth (de Navigatione) he discusses some points not embraced in the preceding. In the fifth (de Assecurationibus) after a very elaborate preface, he introduces the form of the policy of insurance used in Ancona in 1567; and taking up the several matters, in the order of the policy, he examines every sentence by itself, and in a perpetual gloss or commentary explains the doctrines of insurance applicable to the contract. The treatise of Santerna, which is entitled De Assecurationibus et sponsionibus mercatorum, is on the other hand a systematic treatise upon the same subject. Both of these writers draw their doctrines from the usages of merchants, from general reasoning, and above all, from the law of contracts in the Roman code, wherever it is applicable. Considering the age in which they wrote, they are very respectable authorities; and Valin has pronounced the eulogy of Straccha, when he declares him 'an author truly estimable." (auteur vraiement estimable.)

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* The title of the work is 'Benevenuti Stracchæ aliorumque clarissimorum jurisconsultorum de mercatura, cambiis, sponsionibus, creditoribus, fidejussoribus, debitoribus, decoctoribus, navibus, navigatione, assecurationibus, subhastionibus, aliisque mercatorum negotiis rebusque ad mercaturam pertinentibus, decisiones et tractatus varii.'

The seventeenth century was distinguished by the labours of a great many illustrious writers on maritime law. To the beginning of that century, or to the latter part of the preceding, is to be referred the work, entitled 'Le Guidon utile et necessaire pour ceux qui font merchandise et qui mettent a la mer.' This is an ancient French Treatise on the law of insurance and bottomry, in which the various doctrines are examined in a very scientific manner, and with a practical accuracy, greatly surpassing all preceding works on the same subject. The author of the work and the exact time of its first publication are unknown. In 1647, Cleirac published a new edition of it, with an excellent commentary in his 'Les us et coutumes de la mer.' The account he gives of it is, that it was an old French work formerly drawn up for the use of the merchants of Rouen; and he adds, 'ce avec tant d'adresse et de subtilité tant deliée que l'auteur d'icelui en explicant les contrats ou polices d' assurance a insinué et fait entendre avec grande facilité tout ce que est des autres contrats maritimes, et tout le general du commerce naval; de sorte qu'il n'a rien omis, si ce n'est seulement d'y mettre son nom pour en conserver la memoire et l'honneur qu'il mérite, d'avoir tant obligé sa patrie, et toutes les autres nations de l'Europe; lesquelles peuvent trouver en son ouvrage l'accomplissement de ce qui manque, ou la correction de ce qui est mal ordonné aux reglemens, qui chacune a fait en particulier sur semblable sujet.' This is high praise; but Cleirac was a very competent judge. His own commentary on this work and on the laws of Oleron, establishes his reputation as a maritime jurist, in the very first rank;* and to his collections and commentaries Lord Mansfield was unquestionably indebted, for many of the best principles of commercial law, which he infused into the English system. It is most obvious, from his decisions, that he had studied Cleirac with extraordinary attention.† And we may add, upon the authority of Valin, that Le Guidon formed a part of the immense compilation of law, from which was drawn the famous ordonnance of 1681.

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* There have been many editions of Cleirac's work, the earliest of which is of 1647, and the latest, we believe, is the one now before us, of 1788.

† See among other cases Luke vs. Lyde. 2 Burr. R. 882.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, appeared the works of Stypmannus, of Loccenius, of Kuricke, and of Roccus on maritime law.* Stypmannus in his treatise, entitled 'Jus Maritimum,' discusses in a prolix manner most of the questions of maritime law. Loccenius is more condensed and more narrow in his range. The subject of insurance is treated by him in a very slight and careless manner. In other respects, the work is quite as useful as Stypmannus. There are three treatises by Kuricke. The first (Jus Maritimum Hanseaticum) contains an elaborate commentary on the several articles composing the Hanseatic ordinance of 1614. The second (Diatriba de Assecurationibus) is a very short discussion on the law of insurance. The third (Resolutio Questionum illustrium ad jus maritimum pertinentium) is a collection of miscellaneous questions on maritime law, which the author is pleased to call 'illustrious questions,' but which in our humble judgment, contain a great deal of learned trifling, and insignificant criticism. One of these 'illustrious questions' is, whether a journey by sea is preferable to a journey by land; and another, whether a ship repaired is the same ship, which she was before the repairs were made. From this specimen, we might perhaps be induced to turn with contempt from such an author. But it was the misfortune of the age in which Stypmannus and Loccenius and Kuricke lived, that jurists employed a great deal of their time and talents in idle discussions upon unimportant topics, and buried matter of more worth and virtue under a cumbrous load of scholastic learning and metaphysical subtleties. Far different is the character of Roccus. He was an eminent jurist and judge at Naples, and published two tracts, one de Navibus et Naulo, the other, de Assecurationibus, which he modestly terms Notabilia, which deserve, and have received the approbation of all Europe. They consist of a series of texts, remarkable for their brevity, accuracy, sound exposition of maritime law, and practical utility even in our days. His learned Dutch editor, Westerveen, has justly observed of these treatises, 'iisque casus quotidianos tam breviter et absolutè complexus est (i. e. Roccus) tam luculenter proposuit, tam dilucidè explicavit, ut omnium Scriptorum indicem seu compendium fecisse videatur.'* Roccus has, indeed, drawn liberally from his predecessors, and from none more frequently, or more correctly, than from Juan de Hevia Bolanõs,† a most learned and excellent Spanish writer of his own age, whose works deserve to be better known. But Roccus was himself endowed with a clear and comprehensive mind, and, as his select responses shew, with a most acute and sound judgment. His works are of more practical use to an English lawyer, than all the other maritime works, if we except Cleirac, which had been previously published. Lord Mansfield is under no inconsiderable obligations to them, and can be traced in some of his most celebrated decisions back to the pages of the Neapolitan.

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* Stypmannus was first published, as Valin says, at Stralsund in 1661. Westerveen in his edition of Roccus, refers to an earlier edition, printed at Gryphiswaldia in 1652. Loccenius was first published at Stockholm in 1652; Kuricke at Hamburg in 1667; and Roccus at Naples, in 1655. These works, except Roccus, were collected and published by Heineccius with a learned preface, in a single volume at Magdeburg in 1740, under the title of Scriptorum de Jure nautico et maritimo Fasciculus.

We have now approached the times of Bynkershoek and Casaregis, two of the most eminent civilians that ever adorned the courts of any nations. In the short review already made of maritime writers, since the days of the Consolato, we have purposely omitted to speak of those who professedly wrote on the law of prize, or the more general doctrines of the law of nations. We have the more readily done this, not because there are not very ample materials for historical and critical disquisition, but because war and conquest and national calamity have but too frequently brought them before the public. Who indeed is there, that is ignorant of the fame or the writings of Grotius and Puffendorf? Bynkershoek has immortalized himself by his treatise de foro legatorum, and his Questiones publici juris de rebus bellicis.* It is not perhaps as generally known, that he has written a very neat sketch of the law of bottomry, and some very excellent dissertations on the subject of commercial law, and particularly of insurance. Every thing, which came from this great man, bears the marks of an original, vigorous, and independent mind. He often expresses himself with boldness and vehemence, and sometimes also with a lofty contempt for the opinions of others. But his learning, sagacity, and sound judgment, rarely, if ever, desert him. Alluding to Adrian Verwer, a Dutch writer on Bottomry and average, he says, 'haec etiam adhibuit, qui ante aliquot annos hunc contractum commentariolo illustrare conatus est; sed, sat scio, manes ejus non offendam, si et ipse ex penu meo aliquid proferam; ille *mercatorem* egit, ego cum maxime *jurisconsultum* agam, et sine jurisprudentia etiam haec sacra non constant.' He was conscious of his own strength, and while acting the part of a jurisconsult, in expounding doctrines, he speaks in a tone which indicates the judge, from whose sentence no appeal is permitted. Of his works, it may be asserted without rashness, that the more they are studied, the more they will be admired and respected.

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* The works of Roccus were collected and published at Naples in a large folio volume. They consist of the tracts above mentioned, and two centuries of answers to select questions. Westerveen selected the treatises and responses on maritime law, and published them in 12mo. at Amsterdam in 1708. An excellent translation has been recently published of the tracts de navibus et naulo, and de assecuratione, by Joseph R. Ingersoll, Esq. of Philadelphia.

† Mr. Duponceau, in his most valuable notes to his translation of Bynkershoek on the law of war, has spoken with becoming praise of De Hevia. The tracts referred to are those published by De Hevia, on commercial contracts in his institute of the law of Spain, called Curia Philippica.

Casaregis was born at Genoa in 1670, and died in 1737. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Tribunal of Tuscany; and in that office, as his biography states, he discharged the duties with great assiduity, integrity, prudence and universal approbation for more than twenty years. His works have been collected and published in four folio volumes, and consist of two hundred and twenty-six discourses on various topics of commercial law, of a Latin translation of Weytsen on averages, as already mentioned, of a new edition of the Consolato del mare, with an excellent explanation or commentary (Spiëgazione) of his own, and a treatise, entitled, 'Il Cambista istruito,' upon bills of exchange and other commercial securities, and of a few tracts upon municipal law.† His commercial discourses are by far the most valuable of all his works to a modern lawyer. They embrace the whole circle of commercial law, including the law of prize, and are written in a plain, clear style, abounding in just and practical remarks and sound learning. All that is most useful in the works of former jurists is collected and commented on with acuteness and accuracy, and for the most part the topics are examined, until the whole subject matter is exhausted. Rarely have we looked into his works upon any contested question, without rising instructed and enlightened by the perusal. Higher praise cannot be bestowed upon him than the fact affords, that he is quoted by all subsequent writers on commercial law, as a leading and safe authority, and Valin does not scruple to affirm, that he is beyond all contradiction the best of all the maritime authors. In recommending him therefore, to the diligent study of our own lawyers, we are confident that we do them a substantial service, which will be estimated the more, as familiarity with his works makes his merits more extensively known.

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* Mr. Duponceau has prefixed to his translation of this last work a short but very satisfactory account of the life and writings of Bynkershoek. Why will not Mr Duponceau increase the public gratitude by translating the works of other learned foreigners, and by a critical account of the writings of those civilians, who are best entitled to the attention and study of American lawyers?

† The best edition of Casaregis' works is that printed at Venice in 1740,

We had almost forgotten to speak of an author, who was a countryman and contemporary of Casaregis, and is often cited by him with great respect and approbation. We allude to Targa, who in his Reflexions on maritime contracts (Ponderazioni sopra la contractazione marittima) has drawn from the civil and canon law, the Consolato del mare, the usages of maritime nations and preceding writers, the most useful learning on all the subjects of maritime law, except insurance, and has adapted his work to practice by collecting the forms of the various contracts, with hints for their proper application. He is generally esteemed as an industrious and correct author; but his fame seems lost in the superior blaze of his illustrious countryman.*

France was, during the seventeenth century, behind Italy in her attention to the great interests of commerce; and her truly admirable ordinance of 1681 afforded the most ample materials for the employment of the best talents of her bar

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(which is now before us) in 4 volumes folio. The two first volumes contain his Discursus de Commercio, in Latin, the third Tractatus de Avariis, Cambistæ instructi, and Consulatus maris, the fourth Elucubrationes ac Resolutiones ad Statuta Januæ de Decretis ac de Successionibus ab intestato.

* The works of Targa are not very common in our country. A good edition was published at Genoa in 1750, and we have before us a Spanish translation, by Juan Manual Giron, printed at Madrid in 1753, in which the author is highly praised.

and bench. Of this masterly code, Mr. Marshall, in his treatise of insurance, has spoken with bare justice, when he says, 'it forms a system of whatever experience and the wisdom of ages had pronounced to be most just and convenient in the marine institutions of the maritime states of Europe. And though it contains many new regulations, suggested by motives of national interest, yet it has hitherto been esteemed a code of great authority upon all questions of maritime jurisprudence.' Excellent however, as this code is, it stood in need of a philosophical commentator to explain its principles, to follow them out into all their minute consequences, and to illustrate and strengthen them by the lights borrowed from the whole body of maritime jurisprudence. The middle of the eighteenth century witnessed the perfect accomplishment of this great task, after the failure of other attempts had almost extinguished every hope. Valin has the singular merit of having produced a commentary, which in celebrity has eclipsed even the text itself, and in authority stands equally high with the positive regulations of the royal ordinance.

The illustrious author published his great work in 1760, and it immediately circulated over all Europe. He has justly observed, 'un commentaire sur l'ordonnance de la marine est un de ces projets hardis, dont le succes peut seul justifier l'entreprise. L'auteur des notes (imprimees in 1714) sur cette ordonnance, loin d'en avoir compris la difficulté, il ne l'a pas meme soupçonnee, et j' avoué qu'elle ne m'a été bien connue, que lors qu'il n'etoit plus temps de reculer.' Never, indeed, was success better earned, or more completely attained. The work is a perpetual commentary upon every article of the ordinance, and contains within itself the body of maritime jurisprudence expounded with a philosophical precision and depth of learning, which has rarely been equalled, and can scarcely be surpassed. It is to be lamented, that the author scarcely lived long enough after the publication to enjoy the reward of his labours.* His fame—it may perhaps perish—but it will cast the last stream of its light upon the last ruins of time.

England had hitherto made but slow advances in commercial law. The laws of Oleron, the articles preserved in the

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* Monsieur Valin died in 1765. His works are (1.) 'Nouveau Commentaire sur l'ordonnance de la marine,' in 2 vols. 4to. first printed in 1760; the edition before us is 1766. (2.) Traite des Prises, in 2 vols. 8vo. printed in 1763 (3.) Commentaire sur la Coutume de la Rochelle, in 3 vols. 4to. printed in 1768.

Black book of the admiralty, and the treatises of Molloy, Malynes and Marius, formed nearly the whole stock of her written maritime jurisprudence. But the period was now arrived, when a different state of things was to be presented. The dawn of a brighter day had already diffused its pale but increasing light round her wide domain, and it burst upon us with inextinguishable glory, when Lord Mansfield ascended the bench.* This was an epoch in English juridical history, since which the grandeur of her naval power has scarcely been more universally felt, or acknowledged, than her commercial jurisprudence has been admired and respected for its solid principles and equity. Lord Mansfield was an accomplished scholar, whom Pope has elegantly praised in lamenting,

> ' How sweet an Ovid in a Murray lost."

He was an excellent civilian, and from his Scotch education was early imbued with a reverence for the civil law. He was thoroughly versed in all the maritime literature of the day, and had studied all the best works from the Consolato del mare to Valin. To the latter indeed he owes deep obligations. Mr. Marshall has observed, that ' he appears to have taken much pains to possess himself of the soundest principles of marine law, and of the law of insurance, and that he seems to have drawn much of his knowledge upon these subjects from the ordinance of Louis 14th and from the elaborate and useful commentary of Valin.' With all these advantages he possessed liberal and enlarged views, a sagacious and penetrating spirit of inquiry, an unwearied diligence, a solid judgment, and a most persuasive flow of spontaneous and glowing eloquence. Whatever subject he touched, was touched with a master's hand and spirit. He employed his eloquence to adorn his learning, and his learning, to give solid weight to his eloquence. He was always instructive and interesting, and rarely without producing an instantaneous conviction. He broke down the narrow barrier of the common law, against the prejudices of the age, and infused into it an attractive equity, which it seemed to all his predecessors incapable of sustaining. All Westminster Hall listened with admiration and delight to his judgments, and stood astonished at the extent and variety of his attainments; and if he ever removed from the temple of English jurisprudence, a single pillar of gothic structure, it was, that he might replace it with the exquisite finish of the Corinthian order, carved in Parian marble. In short, he was one of those great men raised up by Providence at a fortunate moment to effect a salutary revolution in the world. If he had never existed, we should still have been in the trammels and the quibbles of technical refinements. He has lived, and the law is redeemed from feudal selfishness and barbarity. A lofty ambition of excellence, that stirring spirit, which breathes the breath of heaven and pants for immortality, sustained his genius in its perilous course. He became, what he intended, the jurist of the commercial world, the judge for every polished nation, whose code was built upon virtue and principle. He lived to a good old age,* and could look back upon a long track illumined with glory. But even that track is but a point compared with the splendour of his fame, as it will be seen ascending and widening by distant ages. Is it most for the honour of Valin or Lord Mansfield, that the commentary of the former has furnished the principal materials, or that the latter has wrought those materials with such exquisite skill, that they now form the most polished structure of commercial law that the world has ever beheld ?

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* Lord Mansfield came upon the bench on the 11th of November 1756.

It is not a little remarkable, that while Lord Mansfield was running his splendid career, two eminent scholars on the continent were devoting themselves with equal ardour to the pursuit of commercial jurisprudence. We allude to Pothier and Emerigon, the one, the author of the most finished Treatise upon Insurance, which has yet appeared, the other, the author of distinct treatises upon almost all the branches of law of contracts, including maritime contracts, equally remarkable for their brevity, luminous method and apposite illustrations.† Whether Lord Mansfield was acquainted with the works of either of these illustrious writers is uncertain. The probability is, that he was not. Emerigon's Treatise was not published until near the close of his judicial career; and we gather from an intimation of Sir William Jones, in his essay on bailments, that at the time of the publication of that work (in 1781) Pothier was unknown in England. 'For my own part, (says he) I am so charmed with them [i. e. Pothier's treatises] that if my undissembled fondness for the study of jurisprudence were never to produce any greater benefit to the public than barely the introduction of Pothier to the acquaintance of my countrymen, I should think that I had in some measure discharged the debt, which every man, according to Lord Coke, owes to his profession.' If, however, Emerigon and Pothier were unknown to Lord Mansfield, they have since his time instructed both the lawyers and the judges of Westminster Hall. But there is yet wanting a judge of the generalizing genius and enterprise of Lord Mansfield, or the classical enthusiasm of Sir William Jones, to naturalize them in that forum. To the honour of America, there is one man, once a chief justice, and now a chancellor, (need we name him?) whose acknowledged learning has taught us how much judicial judgments may be enriched by the manly sense of Pothier, and the acute investigation of Emerigon.

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* Lord Mansfield died on the 20th of March, 1793, in the 89th year of his age.

† The treatise of Emerigon, is entitled Traité des assurances et des contracts a la Grosse, and was first printed at Merseilles in 1783. The Treatises of Pothier were published at different times between 1761 and 1772, in which last year the author died The best edition of his works, is that printed at Paris in 8 vols. 4to, 1781. We have not been able to find any account of Emerigon.

We had intended to say something more in relation to the merits of these authors, and to have sketched a critical analysis of their works. But we are admonished, that we have already exhausted more time than we can properly devote to such speculations. We quit them with regret; but there are younger and abler pens that can do them justice; and we trust that it is no idle dream to anticipate, that the next age of the law will find our accomplished lawyers consulting the continental jurists with the same familiarity, with which we now cite Blackstone and Marshall.

The work which stands at the head of these remarks, and from a review of which we have been so long detained, is, as the title page purports, a translation from the German. We have not seen the original, and therefore cannot speak of the exactness of the translation. But we have no reason to doubt its accuracy. Mr. Frick appears to be perfectly competent to his task, both in learning and diligence, and so far as he has permitted himself to appear in the notes, he has acquitted himself in a manner very creditable to his talents and his acquirements. We should, indeed, have been better pleased if the notes had been more extensive, and had embraced the various commercial decisions, and particularly the prize decisions, which have been recently made in the United States on the various topics discussed in the text of Mr. Jacobsen. We have no right however to complain of this omission; and when a gentleman offers a really valuable present to the profession, it seems hardly justice or civility to insist that he ought to have made it still more valuable. Mr. Frick will please therefore to accept our thanks for the book, such as it is, and if, as we hope, it should be favourably received by the public, and a new edition be called for, we think our hint will not be unworthy of his consideration; and from the ability of the present specimen, we are sure that he will command the public confidence in his enlarged annotations.

We will now proceed to give some account of the work itself. We learn from the preface, that Mr. Jacobsen is himself a lawyer, and that 'whatever practical jurists among the Italians, French, English, Dutch, Danes and Germans have written and suggested upon the subject applicable to these times; whatever is contained in the sea laws yet in force on the subject; whatever was to be gathered from numerous legal decisions [in England]; whatever was to be gained by a correspondence for year's with men who have made the subject of maritime law the study of their lives; whatever in sixteen years professional experience in maritime affairs, has suggested itself to the author as useful or desirable, he here proffers as a part of the debt which every one owes to the country of his birth and to mankind in general.' And he adds, 'How inconsiderable as yet is our proficiency in the science of maritime law compared to our treatises of municipal law. The present, perhaps, is the first attempt to offer any thing in a systematic form relative to ships' papers, on which depend the fortune and the peace of so many families; for the ships' papers, with reference to the maritime laws of war, have hitherto never been treated of in any language.'

Prefixed to each chapter is a catalogue of the authorities and editions of the several authors who have discussed the subject matter of that chapter, and from whose writings the doctrines have been drawn; and to the whole work is prefixed a catalogue of the authors who have treated of the subject generally, or of the literature connected with it, with short comments upon their merits. This we think is a very useful addition; and in this catalogue, we notice a number of works which have never reached us through any English publication. It is some consolation, however, that as far as the contents of these works are disclosed to us, they do not contain any very considerable accession to the learning already within our reach, and Mr. Jacobsen has incorporated whatever seemed most useful into his own treatise. What struck us with some degree of surprise on the first examination, was the heavy contributions which Mr. Jacobsen had levied from the English authorities. He appears perfectly familiar with the recent decisions in the courts of Westminster Hall, and the commercial treatises of Abbott, Lawes, Park and Marshall; and has manifestly adopted their doctrines, from a thorough conviction of their soundness and equity. This is a flattering distinction; and is repaying to continental Europe the obligations, which England, in the earliest stages of her law, owed to the enterprize and wisdom of the civilians. As to the law of prize, it is almost entirely borrowed from the reports of the decisions of the High Court of Admiralty, since the time of Sir William Scott. For this, the author himself offers a very striking reason. 'If,' says he, 'in the subsequent part of his work, he (the author) has confined himself somewhat more exclusively to the doctrines and opinions of that celebrated man, whose unrivalled decisions on maritime law, like the judgments and opinions of the Roman jurists in the civil law, will constitute an essential part of maritime law for centuries to come,—*it was because the continental jurisprudence is barren of examples in those branches of the subject.* As the commercial law of Great Britain received much of its perfection through the decisions of Lord Mansfield, so the maritime laws of war of that country have attained their maturity, through the decisions of Sir William Scott.' This acknowledgement is extremely honourable to English jurisprudence; but it is also honourable to our author, who shews in this as in other parts of his work, that he is far removed from the prejudices of his continental contemporaries, and that he breathes the genuine spirit of an universal jurist. It is no small praise that he is so far above the visionary doctrines of Hubner and Schlegel and the French and German theorists. Nor is this the least valuable portion of the work to an English lawyer. It is a remarkable fact, that no systematic treatise upon the law of prize has as yet appeared in England. The very superficial, hasty, and imperfect sketch of Mr. Chitty, does not deserve the title, which it bears, and has been egregiously overrated. Our own country has been honoured with a treatise on captures by Mr. Wheaton, which is in every respect far superiour to Mr. Chitty's, and, taken in connexion with his extensive notes on prize law in his reports, it approaches very near to a complete body of this important branch of law. Are not the merits of our own authors, and especially of our own juridical authors, very slowly appreciated? In what respect is Mr. Livermore's learned treatise on the law of principal and agent, inferior to those recently sent from the English bar?

What, however, constitutes the principal value of Mr. Jacobsen's work to an American lawyer, is the minute accuracy and fulness, with which it gives us the positive and customary law of all the maritime nations of the continent. And this, in our judgment, is a most interesting and, in a practical view, a most important accession to our juridical literature. Of the maritime law of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Germany, we have hitherto known very little. Yet with all of them we carry on an extensive trade; and the principles of their jurisprudence as to maritime affairs, both in peace and in war, are of incalculable importance to our merchants—nay more, to our government. This is not all;—a great variety of curious and difficult questions are perpetually arising in our judicial tribunals, where the positive regulations or usages of other commercial nations would greatly assist us in forming decisions, which should comport with general convenience, as well as with the general principles of law. Many are the cases, in which the reasoning is so nicely balanced on each side, that a settled foreign usage ought to incline the scale. We owe indeed a full moiety of our present commercial law, to the positive ordinances or usages of France, Italy and Spain, as they have been delivered to us by their eminent jurists. They seem now inclined to borrow from us in return; and thus, perhaps, national comity may gradually establish a nearly uniform system of commercial jurisprudence, throughout the whole civilized world.

We have no hesitation, therefore, to recommend Mr. Jacobsen's treatise to the favourable attention of our lawyers and merchants. They cannot fail to be greatly instructed by the perusal. The learned author has prepared his work from very ample materials, and with the most laborious diligence, and in general with sound discrimination and impartiality. If Mr. Abbott's treatise were not in existence, Mr. Jacobsen's would be indispensable for every lawyer's library. As it is, it will reflect great light on points where Mr. Abbott is deficient or unsatisfactory; and no gentleman ought to consider himself thoroughly read, who has not mastered its learning.

We had intended to insert a few extracts from the work, that our readers might be able to judge for themselves of its method and execution; but, on running over the chapters, we found it difficult to make any extract, which would exhibit a fair specimen, without occupying more room than our pages would allow. And, in a professional treatise, this is the less necessary, as a just opinion of its merits can rarely be formed without a perusal of the whole.

We notice in the translation some Germanisms, which it was not perhaps easy, without an awkward circumlocution or paraphrase, to avoid. There are also some words, which have not yet acquired a legitimate use in our language, such as 'endorsation' and 'bottomried.' There may be some reason to adopt the latter word, though innovations are dangerous; but there can be no such apology for the former, since we have a genuine English word (endorsement) of the same signification. There are also some errours of the press; one, (in p. 556) which is important to the sense, and where the words should be 'the shadow of partiality' in lieu of 'the shadow of impartiality.' These, however, are but specks, which we have no inclination to magnify; and Mr. Frick can have no reason to wish to have concealed.

Art. XVI.—*Theology; explained and defended, in a series of sermons; by Timothy Dwight, S. T. D. L. L. D. late president of Yale College. With a Memoir of the Life of the Author.* Middletown, Con.; Clark & Lyman; 1818. 5 vols. vol. i. 8vo.

As this volume is the commencement only of a large work, we shall confine our remarks chiefly to the life and literary character of the author, reserving for a future opportunity our examination of his 'Series of Sermons.'

The anonymous *Memoir* of the life of President Dwight, prefixed to the first volume, is highly interesting; and whatever reasonable abatement may be made for any supposed partiality of the author or authors, it is manifest that Dr. Dwight was a man of very eminent powers of mind, of distinguished industry, activity, and energy, and of uncommon versatility of talents; that he possessed abilities for excelling in various callings, and that he was remarkably fitted for the sphere in which he moved, for more than twenty years preceding his death.

There is a curiosity prevalent among mankind to be made acquainted with the early development of intellect and character, in those who become distinguished in the service of the public. For, although the indications of genius in childhood are often deceptive, and remarkable capacity for learning frequently terminates in disappointed expectations; yet there are certain gifts exhibited, and acquirements obtained, at the dawning of the mind, which commonly mark the future man. In the example before us, it appears there was no need of external stimulus or authority, at the commencement of literary education. This infant scholar, proposed to himself some good, by which he was induced to learn that by stealth, to acquire which, most boys, according to their different dispositions, must be encouraged or driven. 'At the age of six years,' we are told in the life of President Dwight, 'without his father's knowledge, or the master's consent, he studied through Lilly's Latin Grammar twice.' Previously to this, his mother had been his instructer; and it affords an instance similar to that which is gratefully acknowledged by Sir William Jones, and other distinguished men, of the effect of well directed maternal care, in forming the mind and the morals. Besides the useful lessons she prescribed to him, by which his memory was stored and strengthened, it appears that he laid the foundation, at this remarkably early period, of all that knowledge of geography and history, in which he so much excelled. His industry was intense and uninterrupted, till after he became a member of Yale College; when, partly from sickness, and partly from the state of the seminary at that time, which, demanding little exertion, led him to participate in idle amusement, he lost a large portion of the two first years. During the remaining period, however, he so far redeemed this loss, that, at the close of his senior year, he was surpassed by none of his associates.

After he was graduated, he became the instructer of a grammar school at New Haven. In this situation he continued for two years, at the expiration of which he was elected a Tutor in Yale College. In this office, no less than in an establishment of his own, at a future period, he was a most laborious and successful teacher. And so fully did he gain the respect and good will of the students, while a tutor, that, 'it being ascertained that the existing head of the college would relinquish his connexion with it; the students, as a body, drew up and signed a petition to the corporation, that he might be elected to the presidency. It was owing to his own interference, that the application was not formally made.'

In September 1777, he was appointed a chaplain in the army of the United States, in which place he acquired great celebrity by his professional services, and great popularity by his patriotic songs. In a little more than a year he felt himself obliged to resign his office, in consequence of the death of his father; his mother being left a widow, and he being the eldest of thirteen children. The exertions which he made to discharge the duties of the filial and fraternal relations, to supply the wants of the family, and promote the mental improvement of its younger members, were most exemplary and disinterested. These exertions too were made while he had a family of his own, and the objects to which his labours were directed were numerous and complicated, and to almost any one else would have been incompatible. Amidst them all, he was enlisted in the political concerns of a very interesting period of our national history. He was sent by the people of Northampton, where he was then an inhabitant, to the county conventions, and was one of the principal advocates of the new constitution of Massachusetts. In the years 1781 and 1782, he represented the same town in the state legislature. Without adverting to the political affairs in which he took his share of interest, we are happy to notice and select the following account, so honourable to his character, of 'his devotion to the interests of learning.'

'A petition for a grant in favour of Harvard College was before the Legislature. At that time such grants were unpopular. That spirit of honourable liberality, which now happily characterizes the legislature and people of that Commonwealth, was then far from being universally operative. During his occasional absence from the house, the petition had been called up; and, after finding but few, and those not very warm advocates, had been generally negatived. On taking his seat, Mr. Dwight, learning what had occurred, moved a re-consideration of the vote. In a speech of about one hour in length, fraught with wit, with argument, and with eloquence, and received with marked applause on the spot, from the members and the spectators, he effectually changed the feelings of the house, and procured a nearly unanimous vote in favour of the grant. It gave him high pleasure thus to confer an obligation on that respectable seminary; an obligation which was gratefully acknowledged by its principal officers, as well as by many others of its friends.' p. 20.

He afterwards declined all offers of political promotion, and devoting himself to the profession of his choice, was soon ordained the minister of the parish of Greenfield in Connecticut. His residence there is described as the abode of unbounded hospitality, while he discharged to the utmost wishes and expectations of his people, his pastoral duties, and at the same time took the charge of an academy of his own establishment, devoting to his pupils six hours a day. In consequence of the weakness of his eyes, he was obliged to preach without writing his discourses, except the divisions and leading thoughts; but still he acquired and sustained a reputation as a preacher, which is rarely equalled. For twelve years he continued in this parochial charge, and left it for a more public and important station.

The account which is given, in the memoir, of the disordered state of Yale College, when Dr. Dwight was elected president; and of the good influence immediately produced by his energy and talents, affords full testimony that he was peculiarly suited to his new situation. The complicated duties upon which he entered, and which he continued to discharge through the remainder of his life, were such as few men could have performed well. Besides the general superintendance of the affairs of the seminary, and the disciplinary authority over the students, which pertained to his office, he was the stated preacher, the professor of theology, and the instructer of the senior class. The series of sermons, to which the memoir of his life is prefixed, is the fruit of his labours as professor of theology.

President Dwight discharged with little interruption, these various duties, till near the time of his decease. Almost a year before his death, however, he was seized with a most excruciating attack of the disease which finally proved fatal. During this and his last illness, he was enabled to manifest the full triumph of faith. He preserved, in an extraordinary degree, his wonted cheerfulness, and pursued, almost to the close of life, under constant admonitions that it would soon be terminated, as well his learned labours, as his offices of piety and Christian philanthropy. The description of his sufferings is extremely affecting, and presents an instance of moral sublimity, seldom witnessed in our present frail condition. Amidst the agonies of excessive pain, he maintained the composure of a religious philosopher, without the affected indifference of the stoic; and preserved his firmness under sufferings, by a belief in the ordinances of heaven, instead of the casualties of blind destiny.

Such is a brief sketch of the life of President Dwight. He has already received his merited eulogy from those who best knew his worth. His literary publications, some of which have been long before the public, and the distinguished station in which he was placed, lead us to speak of his character, as an author, and as the head of one of our first seminaries of learning.

His earliest work, of any considerable length, which we have seen, is the *Conquest of Canaan.* This poem, from its subject, from the manner in which it is conducted, and from its length, claims to be of the Epic class. It was completed when its author was but twenty-two years of age. To so young a man, it could be no disgrace to fail of successful execution in such an arduous undertaking; to acquire a favourable reception, and lasting reputation as a poet, would be in a high degree honourable. We are inclined to think there is something too unpoetical in the author's adaptation of manners to the persons of his poem. 'He has studied,' (to use his own words,) 'a medium between absolute barbarism and modern refinement. In the best characters, he has endeavoured to represent such manners as are removed from the peculiarities of any age or country, and might belong to the amiable and virtuous of every age. Such as are elevated without design, refined without ceremony, elegant without fashion, and agreeable, because they are ornamented with sincerity, dignity, and religion, not because they are polished by art or education. Of such manners he hopes he may observe, without impropriety, that they possess the highest advantages for universal application.' Though all critics acknowledge truth to general nature to be one of the trials as well of the poet's as of the painter's genius, yet peculiarities of manners, in the time and place in which the scene is laid, are no less essential. The passions which have so much concern in the story of every genuine epic poem, so far as they are human, are shared by mankind in common. But manners, and *costume*, and modes of thinking, are as various and as contrariant, as the different caprices, and accidents, and degrees of mental cultivation, which are unfolded to us in the history of our species. Where the poet can seize upon these varieties, or even give such ideal peculiarities as do not violate probability, much is gained in point of novelty, while nothing is lost in the moral lessons, conveyed by the natural movements of those passions and affections, which are mainly concerned in the great action of the epic poem.

Corresponding with the laws which the author prescribed to himself, in his Conquest of Canaan, he made every thing too common. There is little that is really distinctive, little that is truly oriental about any of his persons or scenes. A certain equable current of unexceptionable, and oftentimes pleasing thoughts and expressions, flows through the poem. It is occasionally animated, and in description, sometimes picturesque and poetical. The versification, though generally monotonous, having too little variety in the pauses, is for the most part uncommonly smooth. In the expression of strong emotion, there is an avoidance of all offensive extravagance, if it do not reach the genuine ardour or pathos of the highest order of poetry. Having said thus much, we fear we have said all that is due to this poetical work; nor do we say this to deduct any thing from the high and well deserved reputation of President Dwight. It is not the lot of a single man to excel in every thing; and it is often our misfortune to make a false estimate of our own powers, and to stake too much of our intellectual wealth on the race, in which we are unable to reach the goal.

Greenfield Hill is an irregular poem, descriptive, historical and didactic, in seven parts. It contains no small variety of matter, and is composed in divers metres. The poem opens with a pleasing picture of rural scenery and rustic life; but the more familiar parts, 'the clergyman's advice to the villagers,' and 'the farmer's advice to the villagers,' are, perhaps, better of their kind, than any other portions of the work. We cannot persuade ourselves, that the author added any thing to his poetical reputation, by this second trial; though we are unwilling to say even this, to the dispraise of a book, which, if read for its useful practical lessons, and pure moral instructions, may be read with pleasure and profit.

It is in his professional callings, that the friends of Dr. Dwight, and the friends of learning and piety, are to find the lasting records of his talents and usefulness. We do not mean that there are no incidental, tributary additions to his fame; but it is in the main business of his life, as it should be, that we behold his shining excellences. Most of the active part of his life was devoted to the sacred office, and to academical instruction; and his reputation in both was remarkably distinguished.

Many of his public, occasional discourses were printed, while the circumstances attending them gave them peculiar interest. They furnish specimens of his successful cultivation of pulpit eloquence, to which, we are told, by those who have enjoyed the privilege of his public services, he gave full effect by his delivery. We select the following passage, from the memoir of his life, for a summary account of his character as a divine.

'As a Minister and Preacher of the Gospel, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea of his characteristic excellence. Having been compelled from the weakness of his eyes, to adopt the plan of preaching without notes; his sermons, except those designed for extraordinary occasions, were for the first twenty years chiefly unwritten. Usually, he barely noted the general divisions, and some of the most important and leading ideas. There is no doubt, that this mode had its peculiar advantages; nor that his style and manner, as an extemporaneous preacher, were more popular and captivating, than at a later period, when his discourses were written at length. When unconfined by notes, the whole field of thought was before him. Into that field he entered; conscious where his subject lay, and by what metes and bounds it was limited; and enjoying also that calm self-possession and confidence of success, which *trial* alone can give, and which every successive effort had only served to increase. Within these limits, his powers had full scope, his imagination was left to range at will, his feelings were kindled, and his mind became in the highest degree *creative.* Its conceptions were instantaneous; its thoughts were new and striking; its deductions clear and irresistible; and its images, exact representations of what his eye saw, living, speaking and acting. When we add that these were accompanied by the utmost fluency and force of language, a piercing eye, a countenance deeply marked with intellect, a strong emphasis, a voice singular for its compass and melody, an enunciation remarkably clear and distinct, a person dignified and commanding, and gestures graceful and happy; we need not inform the reader that his pulpit efforts at this period possessed every characteristic of animated and powerful eloquence. Many instances of its effects upon large audiences are remembered and might easily be mentioned, which were most striking proofs of its power over the feelings and the conscience.' p. lxi, lxii.

We have already adverted to the arduous and complicated duties which Dr. Dwight was called to discharge, when he became president of Yale College. This is an office for which he appears to have been peculiarly qualified. His general information, his uncommon fluency, and his power of rapid transition from one subject or pursuit to another, produced a strong impression on others of his extraordinary abilities, while, at the same time, it enabled him to make the best use of his knowledge, and to draw at pleasure from his own intellectual resources. Accordingly, we find that he commanded great admiration, as well from strangers and transient acquaintances, as from his pupils, and from those who were associated with him in office.

The labours he performed, which partly pertained to his station, and partly were voluntary, are described in the following account, by his biographer.

'President Dwight's talents as an Instructor, were no where more conspicuous than in the recitation-room of the senior class. 'The year commenced with the study of *Rhetoric*, in which the Lectures of Blair were the Text-Book. The questions naturally arising from the lesson were first answered; and the principles of the author freely examined. This usually occupied not more than half an hour: and was succeeded by a familiar extemporaneous lecture on the subject, which filled up the residue of the two hours commonly devoted to his recitations. This lecture was often enlivened by anecdote and humour, and interspersed with striking illustrations. It frequently exhibited lively sallies of the imagination, and occasionally high specimens of eloquence. Yet it was in fact, though not in form, a regular dissertation, a connected chain of powerful reasoning, calculated to leave a distinct and permanent impression on the mind When the course of rhetoric was completed, that of *Logic and Metaphysics* succeeded; in which the regular text-books were Duncan, and Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding After this followed *Ethics;* when Paley's Moral Philosophy was studied. In these recitations, also, a similar method was adopted Those three courses occupied three days in the week through the year. On each of these days the class exhibited written compositions. Two more were devoted to forensic disputation. The discussions of the students were commonly written, but at times extemporaneous. When these discussions were finished, the President closed the debate, in an argument giving a comprehensive view of the question; and occupying, according to its importance, sometimes the space of half an hour, and sometimes that of several recitations. The series of questions thus discussed usually involved the more important disputable points in science, politics, morals, and theology. Many of his decisions, as specimens of reasoning and eloquence, were not surpassed by his happiest public efforts. On Saturday, Vincent's 'Exposition of the Shorter Catechism' was recited. The lesson terminated in a few minutes, and was followed by a Theological Lecture on the subject. At the close, he heard Declamations The students regularly looked forward to the Senior Year as peculiarly interesting and important; in which their minds were to be disciplined and furnished for action. No compulsion was necessary to secure their presence in the recitation-room. Even those who had previously been indolent attended of choice. In *each* of the four courses of Rhetoric, Logic, and Metaphysics, Ethics and Theology, as taught in Vincent; he spent more time in instructing his class than is customarily spent in the regular lectures of Professors in those sciences. In addition to this, he was the stated Preacher twice on the sabbath; addressed the students at length in the Theological Chamber on Saturday evening; superintended the general administration of the College government; wrote by the assistance of his pupils or of a regular amanuensis almost all the works which he ever wrote; and attended with marked punctuality to all the calls of civility and friendship It ought here to be remembered, that for the first twenty years of his Presidency he was rarely able to read so much as a single chapter in the Bible in the twenty-four hours.' p. lx, lxi.

Such are some of the prominent parts of the life and literary character of President Dwight. Those who would know more, we refer to the *Memoir* of his life. We have already said it is a very interesting biographical account. It is also well arranged, well proportioned in its parts, and contains nothing that has wearied us by its prolixity. One thing however, it becomes us to mention, by way of caution to those who perform such a delicate office, due to departed worth; it is written too much in the strain of continued eulogy; and too constantly abounds in superlatives. We know that it is difficult, while an event which has so deeply wounded private affection, and made such a lamentable chasm in society, is still recent, for the writer to recollect, that he is composing for the public at large, and recording a permanent memorial for the benefit of succeeding generations; but whatever be his private feelings and partialities, he ought constantly to keep those ends in view, and train himself by a course of self discipline for the arduous work.

From the same leaning to overstrained panegyric, the author of the Memoir has either overlooked, or remained in voluntary ignorance of some important facts, by which he has done injustice to the memory of Dr. Dwight's learned predecessor.

'Owing,' says he, 'to a variety of causes, which it is not necessary to enumerate, the state of Yale College, at the time of Dr. Dwight's accession to the office of president, was in many respects unhappy. Destitute in a great degree of public or private patronage, its numbers were reduced, its discipline was relaxed, a looseness of moral and religious sentiment had become fashionable, and its reputation had been for some time on the decline through the community.'

So much official responsibility rests on the president of a college, in regard to its discipline, and on him depends in so great a degree the favour of the public and of individuals, that the above passage cannot well be interpreted, without implying a very essential defect of qualifications for his office, on the part of President Stiles. But the fact is, Yale College never received a greater degree of patronage, both public and private, during the same number of years, than while Dr. Stiles presided over the institution. At an early period of his presidency, Dr. Daniel Lathrop, of Norwich, bequeathed £500 to the college; in consequence of which addition to its funds, a new college edifice was soon erected. A few years afterwards, the Rev. Dr. Lockwood, of Andover, (Connecticut) 'contributed £100 towards the completion of the philosophical apparatus. A subscription was circulated, by which, including the Doctor's donation, £300 were raised for the same purpose.'* At a later period, such *public* munificence was extended to the seminary, as greatly increased its advantages and celebrity. In 1792, three years before the accession of Dr. Dwight, an act was passed by the legislature of the state, 'for enlarging the powers and increasing the funds of Yale College;' the passing of which was countenanced and facilitated by President Stiles. This conciliatory act, secured to the seminary, that 'public patronage,' which it had previously wanted. Part of the augmented funds was applied to the erection of another edifice, and part to the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy, into which a professor was inducted.†

In regard to the state of discipline, and the moral condition of the college, when Dr. Dwight came into office, we are of opinion, that they may be accounted for without ascribing any want of energy to its government. Some of us remember how many sober people were intoxicated by the spirit of the French revolution; how many volatile men and boys were carried away by the wind of new doctrine it introduced; and how many, that were prone to be worse than others, came to loathe all social and domestic restraint, to scoff at every thing hallowed, and to worship only the reigning deities, 'liberty and equality.' That a body of ardent young men should partake of the wildness, and even profligacy and profaneness of the times, however lamentable, is by no means surprising. While, therefore, great credit is due to President Dwight for the powerful remedies he applied to this diseased body, may we not suppose that the disorder was then near its crisis, and that, as in other instances, where the ordinary course was pursued, a reaction was already about to ensue, which would have restored it to its healthful state?

There is another incautious and unqualified statement, which we are sorry to be obliged to notice.

'Until this time,' (that is, until the accession of Dr. Dwight) 'through a mistaken policy, the students had not been allowed to discuss any question, which involved the inspiration of the scriptures; from an apprehension that the examination of these points would expose them to the contagion of skepticism.'

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* Holmes' life of President Stiles. Appendix containing 'a sketch of the history of Yale College,' p. 397.

† Ib. p. 398, &c.

From what knowledge we had of the character of the late President Stiles, we were not a little surprised at this account, and concluded that his views must have undergone a great change on the subject in question, after he became president of the college. While he was pastor of a church at Newport, a donation of books was made, through his hands, to Yale College; but, some of them being deistical, they were not admitted by the president into the library. 'On this occasion, Dr. Stiles, in a letter to the president, respectfully vindicates that free inquiry, for which protestants have made so noble a stand. It is true, said he, with this liberty, errours may be introduced; but turn the tables, the propagation of truth may be prevented. Deism has gained such head in this age of licentious liberty, that it would be in vain to try to suppress it by hiding the deistical writings; the only way is to come forth into the open field, and dispute the matter on even footing.'*

It is does not appear, that he ever altered his opinion on this subject; on the contrary, he was distinguished through life for indulging free inquiry himself, and encouraging it in others. We have been credibly informed, that the subject of infidelity was freely discussed in the academical exercises, during his presidency; and we have seen minutes of a forensic disputation held before him, on the divine inspiration of the scriptures.

We do not believe that the author of the memoir intended to injure the well earned reputation of so learned, and amiable, and pious a man, as the late Dr. Stiles; but still there is an appearance of too great indifference to it, which is to be explained by that overweening partiality towards President Dwight, to which we have already adverted; a partiality which naturally tends to exaggeration on the one hand, and injustice on the other.

The style of the Memoir in general, though somewhat constrained and formal, and sometimes incorrect, is not deficient either in vigour or animation; but we perceive too frequently a kind of violent affirmation, by means of such adverbs as *decidedly*, *absolutely*, and the like, where they seem to be unnecessary, and convey to our ears and understanding no impression of beauty or strength. We have noticed, also, several words which are not in good use; among which we recollect, *disorganization, engagedness, conduct* v. n. *originate* v. a. These may appear to be slight blemishes, but they are deserving of notice; for it is useful to point out even small offences, which we would not have others imitate, and which may easily be avoided.

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* Holmes' Life of President Stiles, p. 79.

We shall say but little of the series of sermons commenced in this first volume. They indicate a clear understanding and a vigorous mind, rather than any great extent of learning or critical research. The author appears familiar with the leading controversies that have prevailed among christians, especially those of a metaphysical complexion, and exhibits his own views, for the most part, very distinctly. On some controverted points, however, his proofs and illustrations are of too popular and declamatory a kind, for a didactic discourse. Such appears to us to be the case in the sermon on the depravity of man, when we regard its connexion with the previous account of original sin; for, whatever be our opinion concerning the doctrine of total depravity, it can never be proved by citing the private vices of mankind, or by declaiming against the corruptions of governments, the licentiousness of subjects, or the defects and perversions of *religion.* On this last head, we offer the whole passage, which appears to us much too loose and theatrical for the dignity of the pulpit.

'*The doctrine* (of depravity) *is not less strongly evidenced by the Religion of Mankind.*

'With this subject I shall wind up the melancholy detail. JEHOVAH created this world, stored it with the means of good, and filled it with rational and immortal beings. Instead of loving, serving, and adoring Him, they have worshipped Devils, the vilest of all beings, and alike his enemies and their own. They have worshipped each other; they have worshipped brutes; they have worshipped vegetables. The smith has molten a god of gold; the carpenter has hewn a god of wood; and millions have prostrated themselves to both in praise and prayer. To appease the anger of these gods, they have attempted to wash their sins away by ablutions, and to make atonement for them by penance. To these gods they have offered up countless Hecatombs; and butchered, tortured, and burnt, their own children. Before these gods their religion has enjoined, and sanctioned, the unlimited prostitution of matrons and virgins to casual lust and systematised pollution. The same religion has also sanctioned war and slaughter, plunder and devastation, fraud and perjury, seduction and violation, without bounds. Its persecutions have reddened the world with blood, and changed its countries into catacombs. On *the pale horse*, seen in the Apocalyptic vision, *Death* has gone before it; *and Hell following after*, has exulted in its deplorable follies, its crimes without number, and the miseries, which it has occasioned without end.' p. 544, 545.

It is well known that Dr. Dwight was a celebrated preacher, and that he sometimes, to a remarkable degree, roused the attention of his audience, and produced a strong excitement. We do not look in vain for specimens of *eloquence* in his sermons; and though his eloquence is not in our opinion of a very chastened kind, and parts of his discourses are much better adapted for delivery, than for being read with a critical eye, yet we are disposed to allow him full credit for that kind of talents, which enabled him with such boldness and effect to assault the vices and bad passions of men, and to tell home-truths in such a way as shamed even the profligate and abandoned. Still, however, he is far from faultless, His metaphors and comparisons are drawn too often from vulgar and disgusting objects; especially, and very frequently, from *swine* and *sties*. Thus we are sometimes involuntarily offended by a coarseness of manner, much more becoming in the satirist than in the divine. But apart from this, we meet, in the series of sermons, with examples of more refined eloquence, of which, if we had room, we should select several passages from the sermon on the 'comparative influence of atheism and christianity.' And, in general, we think Dr. Dwight entitled to the praise of that degree of eloquence, which consists in a bold, vigorous, fluent, and glowing style; though the vigour is sometimes impaired by redundancy of epithets, and the boldness is tarnished by unsightly images.

The sermon on the 'decrees of God' is distinguished by just and liberal sentiments; and we have no where seen a more luminous view of this obscure subject, as concerned with the moral agency of man.

Concerning the introduction of sin into the world, he says, after speaking of the various theories;

'I unite with those who assert, that God permitted the existence of sin; or, in the scriptural language, *that he has in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.* It has not ever been proved that these ways are not their own, in the most absolute sense; nor, in the strictest metaphysical language, that God has not suffered all nations to walk in them; nor that this, connected with such a superintendence and control, as invariably directs their conduct to ultimate good, and prevents it from terminating in ultimate evil, is not the whole of the immediate agency of God, so far as sin is concerned. That this scheme does not in any degree exhibit God as the author of sin, (as either the efficient or the guilty cause of sinful volitions) must, I think, be acknowledged by every man, who believes in the perfections and government of God. That he has permitted sin, and has not prevented its existence, are facts so evident, that they cannot become the subject of serious debate. At the same time I cannot but observe, that those, who, when they speak of God as the author of sin, mean to indicate these facts as the import of this phrase, use language in an unwarrantable, and, in my view, dangerous and mischievous manner.'

Dr. Dwight had too much good sense to write a random discourse on this difficult subject, without even explaining the use of the word *decrees;* and accordingly he thus expounds his views of the doctrine;

'It is observable, that the scriptures rarely speak of this subject, under the name *Decree.* This word, and others derived from it, are used in the Old Testament *twelve times with a reference to God* In each of these instances a *particular determination, or sentence, concerning a particular thing*, is spoken of; and in no instance, that general determination, or system of determinations, usually denoted by this term in theological discussions. In the New Testament, the word, as referring to God, is not used at all. Whenever the subject of this doctrine is mentioned in the Scriptures, the words *counsel, purpose, choice, pleasure, will*, or some other equivalent words, are employed to express it. These words are, in my view, more adapted, in the exact metaphysical sense, to the subject, than the word *decrees;* and naturally lead the mind to more just conceptions of its nature. In accordance with this fact, I shall express my own views of it in this manner. *What is commonly intended by the Decrees of God, is that choice,* or pleasure, *of the divine Mind, eternally and unchangeably inherent in it, by which all things are brought into being.*' p. 228.

We can afford space for a single paragraph only, of his answer to those, who contend that this doctrine destroys the free agency of rational creatures.

'All those, who make the objection, agree as well as others, that *it is possible for a finite agent, possessed of certain supposable attributes, and placed in certain supposable circumstances, to be free in the absolute sense.* I shall take this for granted; because, otherwise, the objection itself, and the debate founded on it, can have neither place, nor meaning. We will suppose, then, *such an agent to exist; and to act, while he lived, in a manner perfectly free: while, at the same time, no being knew, at all, in what manner he would act in any case whatever, until his actions had existed.* In this case, he would undoubtedly be allowed to possess all possible advantages for acting with perfect freedom. Lest I should not be thought to be sufficiently particular, I will suppose his actions *to be all absolutely contingent;* because some Philosophers suppose contingency to be an indispensable and inseparable attribute of a free action. We will, now, in the second place, suppose *this agent, without any change in his powers, or his circumstances, in any other respect, to have all his actions, which, according to the former supposition are the freest possible, foreknown by God, or some other being* I ask, whether they would be at all the less free, in consequence of being thus foreknown? The powers, the circumstances, and the actions, of this agent, remain exactly the same, as before; the agent himself (for that is included in the supposition) being perfectly ignorant, that his actions are thus foreknown. Can it be perceived, that this foreknowledge affects *the nature of the actions* in any manner, or *the freedom of the agent?* To me it is clear, that it cannot; because, in the case supposed, the foreknowledge has not the remotest influence on the agent, nor on his actions; both *he* and *they* continuing to be exactly the same, in every respect whatever. On the contrary, all the possible influence of this foreknowledge is confined to the bosom of him, by whom it is possessed.' p. 249, 250.

Discourses on dogmatical theology will of course be estimated differently, according to the opinions or prejudices of those who hear or read them. And if we cannot admit all the doctrines embraced in that part of the 'series of sermons' already published, it cannot be expected that we should turn polemics, and combat the arguments by which they are supported. In general, we commend the spirit which the author displays; though we think he shews more clemency, when he differs from those who pursue Calvinism to all its real or supposed consequences, than he does, when he censures those who disbelieve the doctrines themselves from which they think those consequences legitimately flow.

We have already remarked cursorily on President Dwight's style. We add only that it is too verbose; that he had too many favourite expressions; and that he sometimes repeated the same or similar thoughts and illustrations. Thus in the first sermon, page 13.

'Nor is this a full description of his amazing agency. He works every moment in every part of this vast whole; moves every atom; expands every leaf; finishes every blade of grass; erects every tree; conducts every particle of vapour, every drop of rain, and every flake of snow; guides every ray of light; breathes in every wind; thunders in every storm; wings the lightning; pours the streams and rivers; empties the volcano; heaves the ocean; and shakes the globe. In the universe of minds, he formed, he preserves, he animates, and he directs, all the mysterious and wonderful powers of knowledge, virtue, and moral action, which fill up the infinite extent of his immense and eternal empire.' p. 13.

Compare a passage, page 16.

'Accordingly, we actually behold him alike animating the blade, the stem, and the leaf, in the vegetable kingdom; living in the mite and the insect, the bird and the beast; *thundering marvellously with his voice; sending lightnings with rain;* rolling the billows of the ocean; making the *earth to quake at his presence;* shining in the stars, glowing in the sun, and moving with his hand, the various worlds, which compose the universe. At the same time, his presence and agency are more sublimely visible in the universe of minds, in all the amazing powers of thought, affection, and moral action, in the knowledge, virtue, and enjoyment, of the myriads, which form the peculiar kingdom of JEHOVAH.' p. 16.

In taking leave of this volume of sermons, of which we have already said much more than we intended, we should not do justice to its distinguished author, without expressing our high gratification, in finding throughout an elevated standard of moral virtue, proposed to his youthful hearers, and those practical lessons inculcated, which leave the impression, that the true design of religion is, to make a good man. And judging from the sermons in the volume before us, we do not hesitate to predict, that the series, when completely published, will be a valuable memorial of the author, and reflect much honour upon the institution over which he presided so long, and with such distinguished dignity and talents.

ART. XVII.—*The Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation. By the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, one of the ministers of Glasgow. Sixth edition.* Andover; Mark Newman. 1818.

To those persons who have carefully examined the Evidences of Christianity, it may seem that nothing was left to be done or hoped for to establish its credibility. The church has never been left without a witness, and every unbeliever in every age has been met on his own ground, by an advocate for the faith. Every specious objection and apparent contradiction, whether historical, moral or metaphysical, has been answered or explained, and there has not been a surmise too frivolous or a cavil too contemptible to escape the notice of the Christian advocate. To mention only a few of the more modern writers;—the historical argument, as collected and arranged by Lardner, is so full and so impartially displayed, that subsequent inquirers content themselves by referring to his works. All the lurking and insidious objections of an antecedent nature, arising from the strangeness of the Gospel scheme, as it appears to a mind not much habituated to reflection, are completely obviated and shown to be unreasonable in the Analogy of Butler;—and to conclude and settle the question, there is the work of Paley, in which the topics of the argument are collected and arranged, with such comprehensive thought—in a style so clear, in a method so luminous, and withal in a temper and manner so dispassionate and candid, that the mind rests upon the conclusion with scarcely less assurance than on the results of strict demonstration. What then remains to be done, but repeat what these masters and guides have stated before, with the great hazard of stating it worse?

But though we do not expect that any great additions will be made to the argument, it does not therefore follow, that the friends of Revelation should remain contented with the labours of their predecessors. While the human mind advances in improvement, new modes of thinking will from time to time prevail; as knowledge increases, new relations will be unfolding; feeling will, in a greater or less degree, mingle with the conclusions of the understanding; and from all these causes, the mind will yield its assent to different kinds and different degrees of evidence. This may be illustrated by a rapid glance at some of the more remarkable vicissitudes of human opinion on the subject of the Christian Revelation.

While the author of our religion remained on earth, and during the lives of his apostles and their immediate successors, the doctrines and precepts of Christianity were few, simple, spiritual and sublime. These early professors of Revelation relied mainly on the divine authority of their embassy, which they supported by a direct appeal to those works, which none could do unless God were with them. But the purity of Christianity was preserved no longer than a hundred years.

The early Apologists incorporated in their defences the peculiar tenets and modes of philosophizing of the sect which from any cause they favoured. From the seventh to the twelfth century, Christianity, in the East and West, was identified with the mysticism of the Alexandrian school, which could not see any truth which was not surrounded by an halo of allegory,—or with the dialectic philosophy which would fain subject all propositions to the rack of a syllogism. From the twelfth century to the revival of letters the name of Aristotle obtained universal dominion. The process of induction was both tedious and inconclusive when you could beg the question in the major, and infer it in the conclusion. The Novum Organum was a feeble instrument, compared with the machine of the 'Most Enlightened Doctor,' Raymond Lully, which was intended to grind out truth from promiscuous propositions, put in at the hopper by the turning of a crank. Each of these sects—the latter Platonists and the Dialectics—were equally opposed to all legitimate inquiry. One could only perplex truth by subtle disputation, and the other furnish nutriment to a 'brain-sick' enthusiasm. Besides, the learning, such as it was, was confined to the monasteries, and all the wonderful doctors, with the exception of Roger Bacon, who was, in philosophical views, two centuries in advance of his cotemporaries, were in blind subjection to the Papal hierarchy. However, therefore, such professors might stain and mar the divine original of Christianity, they did not question its authenticity, and though its design and scope was misunderstood or perverted, yet its truth was not denied, and they always admitted the apostleship of St. Paul, provided Aristotle was his interpreter and judge.

But the restoration of letters approached, and the first object of Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, and Ludovicus Vives was to disabuse men's minds of the scholastic fooleries; and what these illustrious men began in the fifteenth century was completed by Lord Bacon in the seventeenth, by giving to the world a new instrument of philosophical research. The spirit of free inquiry once awakened, tended, as might have been expected beforehand, to a contrary extreme. Men of liberal minds, indignant at the thraldom, which for so many centuries had cramped, as with 'hoops of steel,' all mental energy; and ascribing much of it with justice to the ignorance and bigotry of the Romish priesthood, in the hilarity of their emancipation, not only shook off the chains of the monastery, but did not think themselves free while any ties of a 'particular' religion remained. Lord Herbert, whose book 'de veritate' was first published in 1624, has been considered the founder of modern deism. He was the first who reduced it into a system, and is, on all accounts, the most eminent man of the whole fraternity. In honesty, fairness, consistency and dignity of mind, he stands without an equal, and almost without a follower among those, who, since his time, have been ambitious of the name of Deist. The successive writers, in the same cause, to the middle of the eighteenth century, were distinguished by a bold, excursive kind of reasoning, with that unfortunate mixture of truth and errour which may conceal absurdity;—more frequently erring in data than in inference; inconsistent sometimes with themselves, and always disagreeing with each other; some of them the unhappy victims of their own acuteness, and others intent on bad distinction, were only desirous to erect a monument to their own self-complacency, reckless of the ruin which they might bring on the hopes and consolations of their fellow men.

About the middle of the last century, the objections against Christianity assumed a new character. Before that period the partisans of infidelity had contented themselves with attacking the external evidences of Revelation, or its effects on the condition of individuals and society. To Hume belongs the distinction of introducing, with great skill and effect, what may be called the metaphysical objection against Christianity. Almost all his predecessors had maintained the reality and binding force of natural religion, and many denied the necessity of an express revelation, on account of the clearness of the natural law, as it may be read on the heart or gathered from the course of Providence. But Hume attempted to subvert all the foundations of natural religion in one short proposition*, and by another,† the Christian faith. This was the object of those labours, by which, to use his own words, he 'endeavoured to throw light on those subjects, from which uncertainty had hitherto detained the wise, and obscurity the ignorant.' We are indebted to him, not indeed for any valuable results of his own investigation, but for directing inquiry to a subject, which before his time had been entirely passed over, or vaguely implied. To his writings, as the occasion, does the world owe those inquiries into the nature of evidence, and the foundations of assent, which have given new confidence to our belief in the Christian Revelation, and shown that the darkness and night and desolation of universal Pyrrhonism, is as irreconcilable to a sound philosophy, as abhorrent to the best feelings of the heart.

At the present day intellectual philosophy has become not only a rational pursuit, but a popular, and indeed, an essential study. Men have looked into their own minds, and have examined and classed the operations there with an accuracy, which it would seem, could only belong to the objects of natural history. The elements of reasoning, to a certain degree, have been examined ;—the grounds of assent explored, and the different species of evidence for different subjects of inquiry settled and explained ;—the countless hues of prejudice have been reduced to their primitive elements ;—the illusions of words exposed ;—and many of the principles of association have been classed, and traced into their effects. These investigations have, in some instances, tended to an over-refinement, and a reason and a cause have been asked, when a reason and a cause had been given. To apply these remarks to the subject which suggested them ; it is on ac-

* Eleventh Philosophical Essay. † Tenth, Id.

count of these changes in modes of thinking,—of human opinion,—this development and progression of the human mind, that new arrangements of the Christian Evidences will always be required. It is not that, what once has been proved to be true, is not always true, but that the mind accustomed to a different exercise, will not attend to the evidence given, or will not properly appreciate it. It must always be necessary then, that the Christian advocate should show to the age in which he lives, that the truths he maintains, belong to the same class of facts as those which are undoubted, and that the evidence which claims to be convincing demands no peculiar exercise of the reasoning powers.

An extract from the 'Principles of Historical Evidence,' which Dr. Chalmers has with great propriety prefixed to his direct argument for Christianity, will illustrate the remarks in which we have indulged, and show the spirit and strength which almost uniformly characterise his work.

'To form a fair estimate of the strength and decisiveness of the Christian argument, we should, if possible, divest ourselves of all reference to religion, and view the truth of the gospel history, purely as a question of erudition. If at the outset of the investigation we have a prejudice against the Christian religion, the effect is obvious; and without any refinement of explanation, we see at once how such a prejudice must dispose us to annex suspicion and distrust to the testimony of the Christian writers. But even when the prejudice is on the side of Christianity, the effect is unfavourable on a mind that is at all scrupulous about the rectitude of its opinions. In these circumstances, the mind gets suspicious of itself It feels a predilection, and becomes apprehensive lest this predilection may have disposed it to cherish a particular conclusion, independently of the evidences by which it is supported. Were it a mere speculative question, in which the interests of man, and the attachments of his heart, had no share, he would feel greater confidence in the result of his investigation. But it is difficult to separate the moral impressions of piety, and it is no less difficult to calculate their precise influence on the exercises of the understanding. In the complex sentiment of attachment and conviction, which he annexes to the Christian religion, he finds it difficult to say, how much is due to the tendencies of the heart, and how much is due to the pure and unmingled influence of argument. His very anxiety for the truth, disposes him to overrate the circumstances which give a bias to his understanding, and through the whole process of the inquiry, he feels a suspicion and an embarrassment, which he would not have felt, had it been a question of ordinary erudition.

'The same suspicion which he attaches to himself, he will be ready to attach to all whom he conceives to be in similar circumstances. Now, every author who writes in defence of Christianity is supposed to be a Christian; and this, in spite of every argument to the contrary, has the actual effect of weakening the impression of his testimony. This suspicion effects, in a more remarkable degree, the testimony of the first writers on the side of Christianity. In opposition to it, you have no doubt, to allege the circumstances under which the testimony was given; the tone of sincerity which runs through the performance of the author; the concurrence of other testimonies; the persecutions which were sustained in adhering to them; and which can be accounted for on no other principle, than the power of conscience and conviction; and the utter impossibility of imposing a false testimony on the world, had they even been disposed to do it. Still there is a lurking suspicion, which often survives all this strength of argument, and which it is difficult to get rid of, even after it has been demonstrated to be completely unreasonable. He is a Christian. He is one of the party. Am I an infidel? I persist in distrusting the testimony Am I a Christian? I rejoice in the strength of it; but this very joy becomes matter of suspicion to a scrupulous inquirer. He feels something more than the concurrence of his belief in the testimony of the writer. He catches the infection of his piety and his moral sentiments. In addition to the acquiescence of the understanding, there is a *con amore* feeling both in himself, and in his author, which he had rather been without, because he finds it difficult to compute the precise amount of its influence; and the consideration of this restrains him from that clear and decided conclusion, which he would infallibly have landed in, had it been purely a secular investigation.' pp. 17, 18.

While we admit the originality and justness of these observations, we think they have been extended too far. But it is proper that Dr. Chalmers should state his own reasonings.

'In illustration of the above remarks, we can refer to the experience of those who have attended to this examination. We ask them to recollect the satisfaction which they felt, when they came to those parts of the examination, where the argument assumes a secular complexion. Let us take the testimony of Tacitus for an example. He asserts the execution of our Saviour in the reign of Tiberius, and under the procuratorship of Pilate; the temporary check, which this gave to his religion; its revival, and the progress it had made, not only over Judea, but to the city of Rome. Now all this is attested in the Annals of Tacitus. But it is also attested in a far more direct and circumstantial manner in the annals of another author, in a book entitled the *History of the Acts of the Apostles by the Evangelist Luke.* Both of these performances carry on the very face of them the appearance of unsuspicious and well-authenticated documents. But there are several circumstances, in which the testimony of Luke possesses a decided advantage over the testimony of Tacitus. He was the companion of these very apostles. He was an eye witness to many of the events recorded by him. He had the advantage over the Roman historian in time and in place, and in personal knowledge of many of the circumstances in his history. The genuineness of his publication, too, and the time of its appearance, are far better established, and by precisely that kind of argument which is held decisive in every other question of erudition. Besides all this, we have the testimony of at least five of the Christian fathers, all of whom had the same, or a greater, advantage in point of time than Tacitus, and who had a much nearer and readier access to original sources of information. Now, how comes it that the testimony of Tacitus, a distant and later historian, should yield such delight and satisfaction to the inquirer, while all the antecedent testimony (which, by every principle of approved criticism, is much stronger than the other) should produce an impression that is comparatively languid and ineffectual? It is owing in a great measure. to the principle to which we have already alluded. There is a sacredness annexed to the subject, so long as it is under the pen of fathers and evangelists, and this very sacredness takes away from the freedom aud confidence of the argument. The moment that it is taken up by a profane author, the spell which held the understanding in some degree of restraint is dissipated. We now tread on the more familiar ground of ordinary history; and the evidence for the truth of the Gospel appears more assimilated to that evidence, which brings home to our conviction the particulars of the Greek and Roman story.' pp. 21, 22.

Now we believe the satisfaction which is felt in the testimony of Tacitus or Celsus is not owing in so great a degree, as is here supposed, to our freedom from the veneration we may feel for the sacred historian. It is attributable in a far greater degree to the *necessary impartiality* of the witnesses. It is true, 'there is no subject in which the triumph of the Christian argument is more conspicuous, than in the moral qualifications which give credit to the testimony of its witnesses.' Still this is a conclusion which we must obtain by a course of minute investigation, while it is obviously *impossible* that the heathen writers could have any bias in favour of Christianity.

Before we come to the consideration of the plan and direct argument of Dr. Chalmers, we would take occasion to remark on a censure, which he has allowed himself to make on the 'assiduous' Lardner. It is as follows.

> 'The effects of this same principle are perfectly discernible in the writings of even our most judicious apologists. We offer no reflection against the assiduous Lardner, who, in his credibility of the Gospel history, presents us with a collection of testimonies which should make every Christian proud of his religion. In his evidence for the authenticity of the different pieces which make up the New Testament, he begins with the oldest of the fathers, some of whom were the intimate companions of the original writers. According to our view of the matter, he should have dated the commencement of his argument from a higher point, and begun with the testimonies of these original writers to one another. In the second Epistle of Peter, there is a distinct reference made to the writings of Paul; and in the Acts of the Apostles, there is a reference made to one of the four Gospels. Had Peter, instead of being an apostle, ranked only with the fathers of the church, and had his epistle not been admitted into the canon of scripture, this testimony of his would have had a place in the catalogue, and been counted peculiarly valuable, both for its precision and its antiquity.' pp. 24, 25.

But it may be asked, how could Lardner make use of the testimony of either of the books as evidence for the genuineness of another, until its own claims as a genuine writing were determined. Now this must be settled by two kinds of evidence, and the concurrence of both is necessary. First, by quotations by name or by the direct reference of those writers in every subsequent age, who would certainly have known, and probably quoted it in their own investigations and inquiries; and secondly, by those internal evidences mentioned by Dr. Chalmers in Chap. second. The former of these is the only *decisive* proof. If this is wanting, all the latter evidences can only amount to a strong presumption that the writing in question is genuine, and afford a good conjecture with regard to the time in which it was written. The reason is, that it is not impossible, though it is admitted that it may be extremely difficult, to give to a fictitious writing all the apparent and remote allusions to events and places and persons—that character of thought and style which constitute the elements of the internal evidence of genuineness. An approximation to this is seen in almost all fictitious writings; and if the proposition wanted proof, it might be found in the mistakes which have always been made and the controversies which have always arisen, when internal evidence has been exclusively relied upon. But it is impossible to forge a continuous chain of quotations by name, and direct and implied references from the early times of Christianity to the present age;—to imitate the peculiar style and character of each subsequent writer;—to introduce the supposititious passages so artfully, that the continuity of the writing shall not be broken, and no discrepancy in any respect appear. Nobody will doubt, for instance, that the greater part of the book of the New Testament now received, was extant, and adopted as the foundation and guide of faith, in the time of Origen; for, as Dr. Mill observes, you may select from his works almost the whole text of the New Testament. But how do we know that the age assigned to Origen is not too early, or that the various quotations are not interpolations?—because we find in the writings ascribed to this author both the external and internal proofs of genuineness above mentioned. After thus having satisfied ourselves that any writing of the New Testament, the Gospel of St. Matthew, for example, was received by Origen in A. D. 230, and is the same now as it was then, we have a point from which to proceed, and we may find the same proofs scattered along up the track of history until we arrive nearly to the period in which it purports to have been written, each of the writers bearing the same marks of genuineness. This is decisive—it is the best evidence—the only evidence that may not be gainsaid or resisted.

This is the opinion of Dr. Chalmers himself, for, in a subsequent chapter,—'Do we find,' says he, where he is enumerating the necessary marks of genuineness, 'those compositions, which profess a high antiquity, appealed to by those which profess a lower?' p. 34. and, among the marks by which a forgery may be detected, he mentions,—'there may be the silence of every author for ages after the pretended date of the manuscript in question;' p. 35; and, on page 36, this is more explicitly stated. We cannot agree then with Dr. Chalmers, nor does he agree with himself, in his censure of the 'assiduous' Lardner. We think that he was judicious as well as 'assiduous' in determining, as he does, with anxious care and most patient research, the genuineness of each writer, and the age in which he lived, before he made use of his testimony. He was aware of the objection which the unbeliever might make. 'I ask you to prove the genuineness of the writings of Paul, and you bring me Peter, whose writings have no better claims to genuineness than those of his confederate Paul;—you would support one part of your argument by another, as baseless as the former.'

We have given more space than we could well spare to this part of Dr. Chalmers' work, because, as may appear hereafter, it involves one part of his work in great confusion, and also on account of the great importance of clearness and accuracy in settling the principles of historical testimony. An inconclusiveness in the management of this part of the argument for the Evidence of Christianity, afforded one triumph to Bolingbroke,* and has caused unnecessary doubts and difficulties to more conscientious inquirers.

After having been constrained to animadvert on one of the positions of Dr. Chalmers, it is with real pleasure that we recommend with unqualified praise the rest of the chapter, 'on the principles of Historical Evidence.' We subjoin to those passages already quoted, one more, in which is analyzed a feeling of distrust, which many, who have anxiously examined the Christian evidence, must have experienced. It affords too a fair specimen of the peculiar style of the treatise,—its almost colloquial vivacity,—its energy and freedom, and of the disregard of minute accuracy of expression, while the general scope and principal point are urged strongly upon the mind.

'It may be further observed, that every part of the Christian argument has been made to undergo a most severe scrutiny. The same degree of evidence, which, in questions of ordinary history, commands the easy and universal acquiescence of every inquirer, has, in the subject before us, been taken most thoroughly to pieces, and pursued, both by friends and enemies, into all its ramifications. The effect of this is unquestionable. The genuineness and authenticity of the profane historian, are admitted upon much inferior evidence to what we can adduce for the different pieces, which make up the New Testament: And why? Because the evidence has been hitherto thought sufficient, and the genuineness and authenticity have never been questioned. Not so with the Gospel history. Though its evidence is precisely the same in kind, and vastly superior in degree to the evidence for the history of the profane writer, its evidence has been questioned, and the very circumstance of its being questioned has annexed a suspicion to it. At all points of the question, there has been a struggle and a controversy. Every ignorant objection, and every rash and petulant observation, has been taken up and commented upon by the defenders of Christianity. There has at last been so much said about it, that a general feeling of insecurity is apt to accompany the whole investigation. There has been so much fighting, that Christianity now is looked upon as debatable ground. Other books, where the evidence is much inferior, but which have had the advantage of never being questioned, are received as of established authority. It is striking to observe the perfect confidence, with which an infidel will quote a passage from an ancient historian. He perhaps does not overrate the credit due to him. But present him with a tabellated and comparative view of all the evidences, that can be adduced for the gospel of Matthew, and any profane historian, which he chooses to fix upon, and let each distinct evidence be discussed upon no other principle than the ordinary and approved principles of criticism,—we assure him that the sacred history would far outweigh the profane in the number and value of its testimonies.' pp. 19, 20.

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* Letter 5 on the Study of History. The objection here alluded to appeared to be so important to Dr. Less, as to engage him in a renewed and thorough examination of the question. As much of his 'Geschichte der Religion,' as relates to this subject, has been translated by Roger Kingdon. This work is preferred to Lardner's by Michaelis, on account of its conciseness and precision.

But it is quite time to state the plan, which Dr. Chalmers has adopted, to prove the credibility of the Revelation of Christianity. It is as follows.

'The argument for the truth of the different facts recorded in the gospel history, resolves itself into four parts. In the first, it shall be our object to prove, that the different pieces which make up the New Testament, were written by the authors whose names they bear, and the age which is commonly assigned to them. In the second, we shall exhibit the internal marks of truth and honesty, which may be gathered from the compositions themselves. In the third, we shall press upon the reader the known situation and history of the authors, as satisfying proofs of the veracity with which they delivered themselves. And, in the fourth, we shall lay before them the additional and subsequent testimonies, by which the narrative of the original writers is supported.' p. 30.

Our readers will perceive, that the internal evidence for the truth of Christianity, derived from the nature of its essential doctrines, and the character of the dispensation, which in most treatises precedes the direct historical argument, is entirely omitted. This does not arise, as it may be thought, from inadvertency, or from a desire of brevity, but it is the result of a settled plan which pervades the whole work. It is announced in the first page; and, towards the conclusion of the book, one of the longest chapters is devoted to it. This disparagement of what has commonly been considered an important part of the Christian Evidences, is found now, we believe, for the first time, in a book professing to maintain them. 'It was not an enemy that reproached me,—then I could have borne it.' As we consider this a very important errour of Dr. Chalmers, and, as there has been, on the other hand, much confused and inaccurate reasoning in favour of the internal evidence,—particularly in the book of Soame Jenyns, in which it is most fully considered,—we shall first attempt to state, as briefly as possible, the nature and precise effect of the argument, and then remark on the very extraordinary reasoning, by which Dr. Chalmers attempts to destroy it.

The principle, upon which the internal argument proceeds, is, that a religion, purporting to come from God, must be conformable to the dictates and necessary principles of natural religion, and not contravene the fundamental principles of human knowledge;—that though it may *perfect* the light which the most cultivated reason furnishes, it cannot *contradict* it; though it may disclose new facts with regard to our condition and prospects, yet its dispensations should be adapted to our present state and future destination. Now, to apply these marks of a divine revelation to Christianity in a very few instances;—Natural religion points to one First Cause, infinite in wisdom, power and goodness;—Christianity confirms and carries forward, and perfects all these ideas. The worship enjoined on man must be suited to the object of adoration, and to the condition of the worshipper,—Christianity directs that God shall be worshipped in spirit and in truth. Man needs to learn the real objects of pursuit,—Christianity points to ever-enduring possessions. The faculties of man have for their object a social condition,—Christianity multiplies and ennobles all the principles of universal benevolence, and proscribes all the dark and malignant passions. The sanctions of laws which come from God must be tremendous,—Christianity reveals a future life,—a state of retribution. But it cannot be necessary to pursue this parallel. No one will say, that a religion, which contains all the wise and good precepts, that ever were delivered in any age—which supplies those doctrines that in every other religion are wanting—which is perfectly free from the imperfections and superstitions with which every other religion is debased,—and all this in one plain, regular, perfect system,—applicable to all ages of the world, and to all conditions in which man can be placed,—no one will say, that such a religion does not bear the marks of a divine origin. We admit it does not amount to an absolute proof,—as is too strongly stated by Jenyns,—that it came from God; for the testimony of miracles alone amounts to this; but certainly it is a very strong presumptive evidence.

The converse of the proposition we have mentioned is equally true. Suppose a religion be proposed to the acceptance of men, which disrobes the Deity of his fairest attributes, which enjoins as duties every thing repugnant to our natural notions of God—debasing to the nature and destructive of the happiness of man;—that the doctrines which it teaches are not only not discoverable by the light of nature, but when made known, are abhorrent to the conclusions of unprejudiced reason,—we ask, if any historical evidence can be so strong to prove the truth of such a doctrine, as its being contradictory in itself, and wicked in its tendency, is to prove that it must necessarily be false.

We proceed, as was proposed, to examine the position of Dr. Chalmers, and the method of reasoning by which he attempts to support it. We shall quote his words, and on this point, it must be allowed, he is sufficiently definite. The first sentences of the book before us, are as follow.

> 'Were a verbal communication to come to us from a person at a distance, there are two ways in which we might try to satisfy ourselves, that this was a true communication, and that there was no imposition in the affair. We might either sit in examination upon the substance of the message; and then, from what we knew of the person, from whom it professed to come, judge whether it was probable that such a message would be sent by him; or we

may sit in examination upon the credibility of the messengers.' p. 9.

'The first forms a great part of that argument for the truth of the Christian religion, which comes under the head of its *internal evidences.* The substance of the message is neither more nor less, than that particular scheme of the divine economy which is revealed to us in the New Testament; and the point of inquiry is, whether this scheme be consistent with that knowledge of God and his attributes which we are previously in possession of?

'It appears to many, that no effectual argument can be founded upon this consideration, because they do not count themselves enough acquainted with the designs or character of the being from whom the message professes to have come. Were the author of the message some distant and unknown individual of our own species, we would scarcely be entitled to found an argument upon any comparison of ours, betwixt the import of the message and the character of the individual, even though we had our general experience of human nature to help us in the speculation. *Now, of the invisible God, we have no experience whatsoever.*' pp. 11, 12.

Again, after speaking of the internal marks of truth and honesty in the writers of the New Testament, it is added—

'We cannot say so much, however, for the other species of internal evidence, that which is founded upon the reasonableness of the doctrines, or the agreement which is conceived to subsist between the nature of the Christian religion and the character of the Supreme Being. *We have experience of man, but we have no experience of God.*' p. 124.

This, we must say, is the most extraordinary language we ever knew to proceed from a Christian advocate. We cannot pass it by for the reasons we have mentioned. We must remark upon it at some length; at the same time we experience the uncomfortable feeling, that we are stating with some formality, what every body knows—attempting to establish propositions, which we have admitted from childhood—and labouring to prove circumstantially, what may appear to be almost self-evident. It appears from these extracts, that it is not the conclusiveness of the argument from the internal evidence, provided it could be substantiated, which Dr. Chalmers calls in question;—this he admits—it is simply the insufficiency of the data. If it can be proved therefore, that we have any sufficient foundation on which to establish a conclusion with regard to the attributes and moral govern ment of God, the objection of Dr. Chalmers is, on his own principles, entirely unsupported. We begin by denying the proposition, in the plain acceptation of the words which compose it, altogether. It is not true, 'that of the invisible God we have no experience whatsoever.' We have experience of his existence and attributes in every thing—in all that lives, moves, or has a being. We have experience of the existence and character of the Deity in the humblest, the minutest thing that exists—in the formless mote of earth—the smallest fibre of vegetation—in every breath of air—in every sun-beam. We have experience of the being and character of the Deity in the earth, sea and skies—in the vicissitudes of day and night—in the circling of the seasons,—they are written on the cope of heaven. We are guided to this conclusion by all the prophets and holy men of old, and finally, by the Saviour of the world. Yet, says Dr. Chalmers, 'of the invisible God we have no experience whatsoever.'

But in charity to our author we are willing to admit that he did not mean to say, what he has more than once deliberately asserted. We are besides induced to make this inference to reconcile him with himself—for in the first of his Astronomical Discourses, which is founded on the sublime text,—'when I consider the heavens the work of thy fingers—the moon and the stars which thou hast made,'—there is the following very just remark. 'It is truly a most Christian exercise, to extract a sentiment of piety from the works and appearances of nature.' He could not therefore mean that we are totally unacquainted with the attributes of God;—but that of his *moral government* we had no experience whatever. But this is equally unfounded with the former assertion. His moral government* is proved by the experience of every moment of life; it is exemplified in the circumstances of every individual, and in the condition of society. Pleasure and pain, for the most part certainly, are the consequences of our actions, and the Being, who made us, has endued us with the power of foreseeing these consequences. An author of nature being supposed, (which, as we shall hereafter attempt to show the reasoning of Dr. Chalmers tends directly to deny,) it is matter of experience, that we are under his government. Annexing pain to some actions, and pleasure to others, and giving notice of this arrangement before hand—is strictly government. But further, this government of God is moral, that is, he rewards or punishes men according to their individual merits or demerits. We admit that this government, under which we cannot but know ourselves to live, is not, considered by itself, the perfection of moral government. Still there are sufficient grounds to believe that there exist, in the present state of things, the beginnings of a moral government. We cannot think it necessary to illustrate this at large. We only observe, that more happiness is the result of good than of bad actions in the present world,—that success commonly attends care and steadiness in our enterprises—vicious actions are punished as mischievous to society, and that this should be so, is necessary to its existence,—that fear of detection, and apprehension of punishment attend the most successful villainy—and this is an instance, that vice, *as such*, is punished. On the other hand, security, peace, and a mind accessible to all the innocent enjoyments of life and elevated above common cares, are the natural accompaniments of well-doing, and there is a joy of heart which attends the real exercise of justice, gratitude and benevolence. We know that there are exceptions to these observations, but we are willing to leave the question to any reflecting mind—whether God has not, by the great number of these indications, declared, that 'virtue is his law.' We hope that we may be allowed to conclude from reasonings of this kind, that the position of Dr. Chalmers, taken in this indulgent latitude, is altogether incorrect—that it is not true in fact, that of the invisible God we have no experience whatever.

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* See Butler's Analogy, chap. 2 and 3.

But, lastly, Dr. Chalmers must mean, if his words are not incorrect, and they have any meaning, that we cannot comprehend the counsels of the infinite God, with regard to his creatures on earth. No advocate for the internal evidences ever presumed to do this,—and the proposition is nugatory—it is just this—finite creatures cannot comprehend infinity. It is only asserted that to a certain extent, we can comprehend the attributes of the Infinite God, and observe the traces of his moral government. If, in addition, he has given an express revelation of his will, it is to be presumed beforehand, that it would bear some analogy to the intimation of the same will in the works of nature, and in the government of his rational offspring,—consequently, if it were found to bear this analogy, it would raise a strong presumption of its divine origin. And on the other hand, if it contradicted the necessary principles of Natural Religion, and the fundamental principles of the human mind—this would be a sufficient reason for its rejection, as there could be no testimony strong enough to prove that to be true which is contradictory to itself. We are thus driven to the necessity of pronouncing this favourite principle of Dr. Chalmers incorrect, taken in any intelligible signification. His argument must fall with the position, and the internal evidences for Christianity be restored to their former very important place in the system of evidences for divine Revelation.

Before we leave this subject, we cannot but advert to the reasoning connected with the strange principle above considered. Chapter eighth, which is singularly enough entitled 'on the Internal Evidences *and* the objections of Infidels,' is devoted to a recommendation of Inductive Reasoning, in opposition to the hypothetical, or syllogistic mode. All this might have been of some value and appositeness twelve centuries ago, and applied with still greater force to the syllogistic disputants from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, but must be quite unessential at the present day, when the solemn trifling of the Dialectics is no longer in vogue—and the inductive reasoning is alone followed by all who have any claims to the name of philosophers. Certainly, we, on this side of the Atlantic, have not this lesson to learn, and we are not a little surprised, that it should have been repeated to weariness—by a countryman of Reid and Stewart and Brown. 'Hæc ego non reprehendo, sed ante oculos posita esse, dico.' But supposing we must be taught the alphabet of reasoning—that hypothesis is not the proper instrument of investigation, it might be well, we think, to illustrate its inadequacy by examples, in which it had been misapplied. It has no peculiar relation to the subject of internal evidence, which Dr. Chalmers so repeatedly complains, it had been brought to support. The truth is, the internal argument is not supported by hypothetical reasoning, any further than we have already stated, as Dr. Chalmers asserts again and again—but by a careful inductive process, which is the kind of reasoning which he so earnestly enjoins. And to him who so well knows the principles of true philosophizing, we need not say—that as the degree of assurance of the justness of a conclusion, by the inductive process, is increased in proportion to the number of particulars, which form the data of the argument;—that our assurance approaches to certainty, since the data for the inductive argument in support of the internal evidence comprise every thing with which we are acquainted in creation.

In the last place, this favourite position does not only appear to be unsound—the reasoning which he brings to its support irrelative;—but it is, we think, a principle of the most dangerous tendency to the evidences of Christianity. It leads to direct atheism. It tends to destroy the attributes of the Deity, which the consideration of his works obliges us to ascribe to him;—and is in fine, precisely the same argument by which Hume attained to the fearful conclusions of his disastrous system—that there is no God, or if there be, it is impossible that we should know it. What renders the rejection of the internal evidences by Dr. Chalmers still more objectionable is, that the conclusions derived from this source are a necessary prerequisite to the historical argument for Christianity, or in other words, to the credibility of miracles. 'The case of miracles,' as Mr. Hume states it, and as Paley* admits, 'is a contest of improbabilities,—that is to say,—a question, whether it be more improbable that the miracle should be true, or the testimony false.' Now the probability that miracles should be wrought is in exact proportion to the probability that God would make a revelation to man; for there is no other conceivable way that a revelation should be made. And the probability that God would make a revelation to man, must be gathered from a consideration of our condition and necessities, taken in connexion with the attributes of a moral governour of the universe; and the nature of the revelation, which claims to be divine;—that is from the Internal Evidences—those evidences which Dr. Chalmers unnecessarily depreciates. According to his system, a good or bad religion—one of impiety or of sanctity—of a Demon or a God, is equally capable of proof. It was the studious neglect of these same considerations which gave all its speciousness to the argument of Hume. But neither the Christian nor the Infidel, is supported by truth or fact;—it may give to the one a poor and temporary triumph—it must ever embarrass the conscientious inquirer. In the words of the son of Sirach 'God has made nothing imperfect.' He has given us intimations of his moral government, and he has confirmed and sanctioned them by a Messenger from above. Nature is not mute;—she speaks to us in the wind, and in the earthquake, and in the fire, and not less impressively in the still small voice of her more tranquil creation, which continually breathes forth to the devout and contemplative mind, a language in delightful accordance with the express voice from heaven.

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* Preparatory Considerations to the Evidences of Christianity.

But besides this great deficiency in the plan of Dr. Chalmers' system, we have to observe, that there is no little confusion in the arrangement of that part of the Christian Evidences, on which he chooses mainly to rely. If the remarks we have made on the direct and subsidiary proof of the authenticity of writings, when we endeavoured to ward off the reflection on the work of Lardner, be correct; it will follow, that the first and fourth division of our author above quoted together comprise but one argument;—one is the proposition, and the other the proof—one division of the subject is merged in the other. The proposition of the first part is, 'that the different pieces of the New Testament, *were written by the authors whose names they bear, and at the time commonly assigned to them.* Now the *direct* evidence of this is, as we have before observed, the testimony of subsequent writers, which constitutes the substance of Dr. Chalmers' fourth division. The mistake has obliged him to repeat in part 4th, chap. 5th, what had already been sufficiently stated in part 1st, chap. 2d; as for instance, the evidence of the apostolic fathers, as cited in chap. 2d, p. 54, is thrice repeated in chap. 5th, on pp. 73, 92, 98. Again,—the 'unwritten testimony' of proselytism, which concludes the 1st part, p. 43, is again insisted on in the 4th part, p. 72, and again repeated on p. 75. This confusion appears to have arisen partly from the loose and *ex-tempore* way of arguing, which too much characterizes the reasonings of Dr. Chalmers, and partly from neglecting the distinction between the questions of genuineness and authenticity. The proposition, at the head of the first division, embraces the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament,—that is—that they were written by those whose names they bear, and at the time commonly assigned to them, but the internal marks, p. 32—34, apply only indirectly to this question—but are legitimate proofs of the authenticity. And again, of the three kinds of references mentioned on p. 33, brought to prove the genuineness of the Christian records, only one applies to the subject,

—the others to the question of authenticity. We know that it is not necessary, to the credibility of Christianity, to prove the genuineness of the books of the New Testament; still, if it can be proved, as it may distinctly be done, that the authors were the disciples of our Saviour—the strength of the evidence is greatly augmented, by the known circumstances of the writers. The Evidences for Christianity radiate from numerous sources, and it is always necessary to their full effect, that each should be kept distinct unto the point of convergence.

We have remarked upon the deficiency of the plan, and confusion in the arrangement of the evidences, in the system of Dr. Chalmers. We proceed to point out some erroneous statement with regard to the authorities he quotes, and his neglect of undoubted evidence, which should have been cited.

There is throughout the whole of the historical evidence, which we are considering, a hardy confidence of assertion, which, however it may give a striking turn to a sentence, and an imposing air to the argument, will not aid the conclusions of the deliberate and conscientious inquirer. On the contrary, it will be apt to throw a shade of distrust on the mind, particularly if any mistake be committed in the statement of facts, which form the basis of the argument. Now this mistake has been committed by Dr. Chalmers in more than one instance. He cites, for example, the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, as of undoubted authority. We fully believe the genuineness of this epistle—and we refer any who may doubt it, to the epistle itself, in the Patres Apostolici of Cotelerius,* and to the testimonies of the ancients, and the examinations of the moderns, which are there prefixed. But it ought to have been known to Dr. Chalmers, and if known, to have been stated,—that the genuineness of this epistle has been doubted or denied by critics of no less celebrity than Michaelis† and Semler‡. The same remark applies with much greater force to Ignatius and Polycarp, the only other apostolical authors mentioned in this division of the work. In chap. 5th, p. 78, it is said, that 'Barnabas was cotemporary with the apostles;' and page 98, that the epistle ascribed to Barnabas 'is at all events the production of a man who lived in the time of the apostles.' We believe all the most learned modern critics* agree in the opinion that the epistle which we now have under the name of Barnabas, is not the writing of that Barnabas who was the companion of the apostle Paul;—and some of the reasons are—the mystical mode of interpretation which it contains,—the absurd fables which the author believed of the Hyæna, &c.—and his assertion that the world would be destroyed in its six thousandth year. With regard to the apostolic fathers in general, we believe the opinion of Marsh† to be the prevalent one at the present day. 'Not only the adversaries, but also the friends of Christianity have suspected the authenticity of the apostolic fathers;' and afterwards,—'this at least is certain, that passages are found in these writings, which, from the nature of the subjects, could not have existed in the first century, and if they prove not the whole to be spurious, they prove at least, that these writings have been so interpolated, as to make it difficult to distinguish what is genuine from what is false.' We observe, that from this general remark, the first epistle of Clement of Rome is to be excepted.

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* Edition of Le Clerc, 1724.

† Introduction to New Testament, chap. ii. p. 34.

‡ His. Ecc. Sel. Cap. chap. 6th, and Comm. Hist. § 30.

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* As Dr. Semler contents himself in all his works which we have seen, with a depreciating epithet, as '*interpolatæ*' or '*fictæ*,' when speaking of these epistles, without giving the reasons of his opinions, it may be gratifying to some of our readers to be made acquainted with them. We subjoin therefore the following abstract from a lecture of Dr. Semler, preserved by a distinguished pupil of his, now residing in this country, and communicated in answer to some inquiries on this subject. 'The work ascribed to Barnabas, as containing his travels with Paul, and the story of his having founded a Church at Milan, and many erroneous applications of scripture places, and fabulous accounts, could not have been composed by a man, who lived so near the time of the apostles as is supposed. On this account, Eusebius rejected it, (Hist. sec lib. 3, ch. 25, and lib. 6, ch. 13, 14) so did Jerome, (Cat. Scrip. Ecc. Christ.) The larger epistles of Ignatius are unworthy of a disciple of St. John, and for this reason have found but few advocates. The smaller ones, though in some places they breathe the spirit of the gospel, are not free from absurdities totally inconsistent with the apostolic character, v. g. the *three mysteries of clamour which are to be accomplished in divine silence.* Ep. ad Eph. ch. 19. In the same epistle, he exhorts his readers to look upon the bishop as upon the Lord himself, and to show the same obedience to him as Christ did to his father. The vindication of this epistle by Bishop Pearson has been skilfully refuted by John Dalleius in his work, de Scriptis quæ sub Dionysii; Arcop. et Ignatii Antioch; nominibus circumferuntur. But though I am persuaded that these writings do not belong to the persons whose names they bear; still, I believe that they were composed at a very early period, and on this account, we may derive from them some useful information concerning the prevailing opinion of those early times with respect to the authenticity of the books, which are quoted by the authors of them as canonical.'

† Note to Mich. Int. chap. 2, sec. 6.

We proceed to the next objection above alluded to—a neglect of those writers who ought to have been particularly noticed. Passing by Papias, A. D. 116, who, on account of his proximity to the apostles, and the fulness and unquestioned character of his testimony, is a more important witness than any of the apostolic fathers, we observe a strange neglect of the evidence furnished by those sects called Heretics. These, however remarkable it may seem, are not once mentioned or alluded to by Dr. Chalmers in the whole course of his book. And yet, whether we consider the circumstances of the witnesses, the time in which they lived, the nature and quantity of their testimony, they bring no inconsiderable support to the direct historical argument for Christianity. The manner in which their testimony has come down to us, is unexceptionable; for we collect their acknowledgment of the existence of the New Testament in the same form as that in which it now appears, from their arguments with their opponents;—it is, therefore, perfectly undesigned. They, by their denial of the authority of some of the canonical books, impliedly admit the rest—and by this very denial of their authority, admit their existence at that time. We need only quote by way of illustration, the names of Basilides, Carpocrates and Cerinthus, who all lived within a century after the ascension of Jesus Christ, and who admitted a part, certainly, and nearly the whole, probably, of the present books of the New Testament.

An omission by Dr. Chalmers of less importance, perhaps, but yet of importance, is that of the Heathen history cotemporaneous with the early publication of Christianity;—and this is the less excusable, as it is strictly embraced under the fourth division of his historical argument, and is the testimony which unbelievers principally covet. There are many facts thus furnished, either by persons indifferent or hostile to Christianity, which the conscientious inquirer must dispose of, before he can be authorized to reject Christianity. We refer to the important letter of Pliny the younger to Trajan, and the emperor's rescript—the incidental testimony of

Tacitus, and his cotemporary, Suetonius—the probable allusions of Juvenal and Martial, and the rescript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus.

There is another mass of evidence of a similar character, but from a different source, which might have been adduced with effect in this part of the argument;—we allude to that which may be gathered from the writings of the early adversaries of Christianity, Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles and Julian. The testimony of the earliest and most distinguished of them, Celsus, is indeed mentioned by Dr. Chalmers, but incidentally, and by way of illustration, but its importance demands a distinct consideration. Though his works, by an ill-judged zeal, were destroyed, yet what is preserved by Origen in his answer, is a very valuable subsidiary testimony to the direct evidence of the Christian fathers. It must suffice here to observe, that beside the proof he gives of the expectations which the Jews entertained of their Messiah—of the worship of the early Christians—the persecutions they endured—the early propagation of their religion;—he bears testimony to the life, preaching, works, and death of our Saviour, and to all the facts mentioned by the Evangelists. And, which is of peculiar importance to the argument we are considering, he received the gospels which we now have, as the record which the first disciples of the new religion made; and does not, on any occasion, suggest a doubt of their genuineness and authenticity, though as an adversary, he attempts to cast upon them ridicule and contempt.

Before leaving the question of the authenticity and genuineness of the books of the New Testament, we must advert to one more consideration, which is altogether neglected by Dr. Chalmers, but which is nevertheless indispensable to the completeness of the argument. We allude to the uncorrupted preservation of the sacred records. This has not often been called in question, and the objection, when made, has not been supported by any very plausible allegations. But as a vague feeling of insecurity exists sometimes in the minds of conscientious men, arising from what they consider, the necessary circumstances of the case; and as most of our popular treatises on the Evidences of Christianity, do not contain any distinct examination of the objection, we subjoin a few remarks, on the integrity of the sacred records. We shall first mention the principal objections which have been made. Faustus, the most learned of the Manichæans, has refuted himself by quoting as genuine some passages of the New Testament, which have no other proofs of their genuineness than those which he rejects, and by adducing charges of absurdity in the gospel revelation, plainly false, and which, if true, would have no force in a question of historical evidence merely. Collins attempts to adduce historical proof in support of the same objection. According to his statement,* the Emperor Anastasius in the sixth century, considering that the books of the New Testament were the work of illiterate men, caused then to be altered and improved. But as it has been observed, the charge rests on the assertion of Victor, who lived in Tunis, when the alteration is said to have been made at Constantinople—that he is not only altogether unsupported in his assertion, but that he is opposed by the concurrent voice of every other author,—and that he names no immediate witness, on whose authority he relates the story. Besides, supposing that Anastasius had caused the alleged alteration to be made, it could not have extended to all the manuscripts of the Eastern Church, but only to those of Constantinople. And if it had been made in all the Oriental Manuscripts, it could not have extended to the manuscripts of the Western Church, in which Anastasius had no authority. If the alteration therefore had been attempted it could not have been universal; and since all the Oriental and all the Western manuscripts perfectly coincide with each other, it is plainly evident no such alteration has been made The only other fact adduced by Collins, which is entitled to any notice, is founded on the various readings of the manuscripts. Now, not to mention the great unfairness, or ignorance of the principle of criticism involved in the assertion, that various readings are corruptions of the text, we proceed to observe, that the strongest, and indeed, a perfectly decisive proof of the essential integrity of the Christian writings, is to be derived from this very source. The thirty-thousand various readings, which were found in the manuscripts collated by Dr. Mill alone, may appear a startling number at first, but on examination, are found to consist almost entirely of palpable errours of transcription, trifling grammatical errours, or mere verbal differences. In the very few instances where the sense of the passage is changed, the subject matter is collateral and unimportant;—or, if it be of consequence, the true meaning can be discovered from the other manuscripts, or from versions, or from quotations in the fathers. There have been nearly five hundred manuscripts of the whole, or of part of the New Testament collated, some of which are more than twelve hundred years old, and have been gathered from Asia, Africa and Europe; there are numerous versions in different languages, and among them all no irreconcilable discrepancy, in any important particular, can be discovered.

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* Discourse on Free Thinking, 69—73.

Mr. Chubb* is more definite in his charges, and consequently more unfortunate. His very confident assertion is, that it is abundantly evident that the Bible has been corrupted in the dark ages of popery, by the clergy in whose hands it exclusively existed. That is,—the popes and their dependents, at a time, when many of them could not write or read their own names, brought together and collated all the manuscripts of all the versions of the New Testament, and all the works of the ecclesiastical fathers, which, from the nature of the case, could not have been done, and all this for the express purpose of making the Bible an authority, upon which, to rest their erroneous tenets;—and after having done this, with inconceivable stupidity, they left unaltered all those passages, which are evidently at war with those principles and practices, which form the basis of the Romish Church, as for example, monastic vows, mass, celibacy, purgatory and indulgences.

But all direct allegations against the integrity of the New Testament, are desperately weak. There is however an undefined suspicion or apprehension sometimes floating in the minds of those, who have not investigated the subject, that those writings,—which were issued in a remote age, in an obscure corner of the world, not only without, but in opposition to public authority,—writings, the autographs of which are lost, which, for nearly fourteen hundred years, could have been perpetuated, and multiplied only by the labours of ignorant or prejudiced transcribers,—must have suffered from the injuries of time, or the bad passions of men;—and that under these circumstances, we can have no confidence that the present text of the New Testament has not been materially changed by erasures or interpolations. However specious this objection may appear, it is in reality without foundation. One sufficient answer was suggested, when we mentioned the agreement of the manuscripts. We can only hint at some other sources of proof. And, in the first place, passing by without remark, the agreement which has subsisted in every age of the church, with regard to the principal *facts* and *doctrines* of Christianity, amidst the great confusion and disparity of *opinion* with regard to them ;—it may be observed, there is a wonderful agreement between all the old versions and the extracts which are found in the Christian fathers. And it should be remembered that nearly every verse in the New Testament has been quoted by these fathers, and agrees with the present text. We add to these considerations, one more ;—that from the early condition of Christianity, an universal corruption was impossible. In the first century the Christian religion was spread in every part of the known world ; religious communities existed in Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and in other considerable cities, which, in consequence of the persecution which existed, had little intercourse ;—there existed fierce contentions between the Heretics and Orthodox, who kept strict watch over each other ;—there were very numerous copies of the scripture, which were held in the greatest reverence ;—and finally, there were numerous translations of them into the Syriac and Latin languages. Now will any say under these circumstances, that it was possible to falsify all the copies of the original writings without the opposition of any community or individual ?—and we have before observed there is not a vestige of any such corruption in all history which is of any authority. In fine, it is stating feebly the integrity of the Christian records, to say that we have the same evidences of their uncorrupted preservation as of any other ancient writing, as the works of Cicero or Juvenal, for instance, which are universally received. We have incomparably greater proofs of the general purity of the sacred text—and it may safely be said to have been established beyond a doubt.

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* Posthumous Works, vol. i. p. 65, 66, et seq.

We have felt ourselves obliged thus to notice some of the errours and deficiencies in this part of the work before us. But we would not be thought to be insensible to the great merit, which, with the exceptions above mentioned, it certainly possesses. Some branches of the argument deserve distinguished praise. We know not, for example, where the unwritten evidence of proselytism is stated and illustrated with such force, vivacity and effect, as in the following abstract.

'The testimony of the teachers, whether we take into consideration the subject of that testimony, or the circumstances under which it was delivered, is of itself a stronger argument for the truth of the Gospel history, than can be alleged for the truth of any other history, which has been transmitted down to us from ancient times. The concurrence of the taught carries along with it a host of additional testimonies, which gives an evidence to the evangelical story, that is altogether unexampled. On a point of ordinary history, the testimony of Tacitus is held decisive, because it is not contradicted. The history of the New Testament is not only not contradicted, but confirmed by the strongest possible expressions which men can give of their acquiescence in its truth; by thousands who were either agents or eye-witnesses of the transactions recorded, who could not be deceived, who had no interest, and no glory to gain by supporting a falsehood, and who, by their sufferings in the cause of what they professed to be their belief, gave the highest evidence that human nature can give of sincerity.' pp. 71, 72.

'The history of the Gospel, however, stands distinguished from all other history, by the uninterrupted nature of its testimony, which carries down its evidence, without a chasm, from its earliest promulgation to the present day. We do not speak of the superior weight and splendour of its evidences, at the first publication of that history, as being supported, not merely by the testimony of one, but by the concurrence of several independent witnesses. We do not speak of its subsequent writers, who follow one another in a far closer and more crowded train, than there is any other example of in the history or literature of the world. We speak of the strong though unwritten testimony of its numerous proselytes, who, in the very fact of their proselytism, give the strongest possible confirmation to the Gospel, and fill up every chasm in the recorded evidence of past times.' p. 73.

'Every convert to the Christian faith in those days, gives one additional testimony to the truth of the Gospel history. Is he a Gentile? The sincerity of his testimony is approved by the persecutions, the sufferings, the danger, and often the certainty of martyrdom, which the profession of Christianity incurred. Is he a Jew? The sincerity of his testimony is approved by all these evidences, and in addition to them by this well known fact, that the faith and doctrine of Christianity were in the highest degree repugnant to the wishes and prejudices of that people. It ought never to be forgotten, that in as far as Jews are concerned, Christianity does not owe a single proselyte to its doctrines, but to the power and credit of its evidences, and that Judea was the chief theatre on which these evidences were exhibited. It cannot be too often repeated, that these evidences rest not upon arguments, but upon facts; and that the time, and the place, and the circumstance, rendered these facts accessible to the inquiries of all who chose to be at the trouble of this examination. And there can be no doubt that this trouble was taken, whether we reflect on the nature of the Christian faith, as being so offensive to the pride and bigotry of the Jewish people, or whether we reflect on the consequences of embracing it, which were derision, and hatred, and banishment, and death. We may be sure, that a step which involved in it such painful sacrifices, would not be entered into upon light and insufficient grounds. In the sacrifices they made, the Jewish converts gave every evidence of having delivered an honest testimony in favour of the Christian miracles; and when we reflect, that many of them must have been eye-witnesses, and all of them had it in their power to verify these miracles, by conversation and correspondence with bye-standers, there can be no doubt, that it was not merely an honest, but a competent testimony. There is no fact better established, than that many thousands among the Jews believed in Jesus and his apostles; and we have therefore to allege their conversion, as a strong additional confirmation to the written testimony of the original historians.' pp. 75, 76.

Immediately succeeding this is a perfectly decisive answer to the objection, which is sometimes made, founded on the general infidelity of the Jews and Heathens, which we earnestly recommend to any, who may not have been able, of themselves, to resolve this seeming difficulty. The historical evidences for the truth of Christianity, are concluded by a consideration of the epistles of the New Testament, viewed as they ought to be, as distinct and additional evidence. The whole is too long to be extracted, and we cannot select any part which will fully exhibit the originality, power and directness of the argument of Dr. Chalmers—and we must content ourselves with observing that this part of the subject is thus brought to a full and triumphant conclusion.

The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the internal marks of truth and honesty, to be found in the New

Testament. Our narrowing limits will not admit any quotations, and we can only observe, that no part of the argument of Dr. Chalmers, has more point and energy than this. The circumstances adverted to are, 1. the minute accuracy which runs through all the allusion in the New Testament to the existing manners and events of those times. 2. The circumstantial details of every event—including names, places, and effects, which 'impart a familiar air of life and reality to the narrative;'—and must have afforded to the vigilant inquirer of that day, as it does to us, ample materials for cross examination, which imposters would have avoided by general statements. 3. The manner in which the evangelists narrate their story—the simplicity and unembarrassed confidence of their narration—their apparent unconsciousness of the extraordinary nature of the events they record—the total absence of all art or management of every kind. To these admirable remarks of Dr. Chalmers, we could wish, he had added in the same spirited and powerful manner, the following not less remarkable and convincing proofs of authenticity.

There is a perfect coincidence between the alleged character of the authors, and the writings ascribed to them. We can only allude to a few particulars, and have no room for illustration. The writers are said to be Jews by birth, and to have been educated in the Jewish religion;—and we find in their narratives frequent allusions to Jewish ceremonies and customs—and continual quotations of words and phrases from the Old Testament. We may remark besides, that the writers, all except one, are said to have been unlearned men; —and though we find them to possess every qualification of credible witnesses for the facts they relate—we can discover no great extent of information—no learning—no profound inferences—no subtle refutations—no allusions to the science of the times—no discursive argument. But one of the witnesses was a thoroughly educated Jew of distinction;—and his writings are full of Jewish learning—abound with acuteness and subtlety of reasoning—similies from heathen knowledge—references to foreign customs—a luxuriance of thought, and appeals of the most persuasive and pathetic eloquence.

We may observe too, that the characters of the gospel narrative are numerous and distinctly marked; yet the persons who are introduced are no where *described*—there is no character-drawing. Yet we find those traits of mind, and feeling, which are incidentally discovered at one time and under certain circumstances, appearing or inferrible at another, with just that change of manner, which the difference of circumstances must occasion; so that a consistent and perfectly natural character may be discovered from the incidental notices of any individual, whom the narrative of the evangelists may lead them to mention, modified as it necessarily must have been, by the peculiar modes of observation and expression in the narrator himself. *This subject demands more attention than it has received, and we are convinced that an argument founded on the nice shades of character of the persons mentioned in the New Testament, as affected by circumstances, and modified by the peculiar habits of remark and style of narration of the writers, might be made, which would be scarcely less convincing than the work of Paley,† of a similar nature, founded on the circumstances and condition of the various characters. We have not room for examples at length, and only observe, by way of illustration, that the self-reliance, resolution, and devotedness to principle of Thomas after the resurrection of our Saviour, are those traits of character which induced the same man, before the event, alone to rise and encourage his fellow disciples, '*Let us also go that we may die with him.*' The disciple, whom Jesus loved, was more tender and affectionate than any of the Apostles; and there appears in his character a slight degree of timidity, which is perfectly in unison with such qualities. He was constantly with our Saviour—at the raising of the daughter of Jairus—on the mount—in the garden;—he *leaned on his bosom* at the supper, was present at his crucifixion, *became a son to the mother of his friend and master*;—and when the rumour was spread, that the sepulchre was empty, he was the first to run thither, and 'stooped down and looked in, *but went not in*;'—it was the ardent, zealous, resolute and impetuous Peter, who was the first to enter. It is from such circumstances as these, which are too trifling and minute to be feigned, that the identity and *keeping* of the characters may be observed; as in common life, it is in the minute, and to the casual observer, the accidental motion, gesture, look, tone and expressions, that the real motives of conduct and true bias of disposition, are seen to gleam forth. But we may not pursue this subject. If living examples were not before the writers, if the gospel story be a cunningly devised fable, who are the wonderful inventors? They were poor, laborious men, in the humblest walks of life, without any accomplishment which might fit them for such a work—without any inducement to engage them in it.

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* We might have been spared this remark, if the grave had not so soon closed over the author of the sermons on the character of our Saviour, of Peter and of Paul.

> 'Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
> Esse sinent.'

See Buckminster's Sermons, 2d, 11th and 20th.

† Horæ Paulinæ.

We intended to mention particularly some other omissions of Dr. Chalmers in this part of the subject. We have only space to allude to one other of the internal marks of authenticity of the New Testament, too remarkable to be passed over in silence, and totally distinct from any to which we have adverted. We refer to the language of the New Testament. Every theological student knows that it is not pure Greek, but that it abounds with Hebraisms and Syriasms, which show the writers to have been of Hebrew origin. And, as after the first century, there were scarcely any Jewish preachers of the gospel, and the Christian fathers were ordinarily unacquainted with Hebrew, it is inferred, with no little degree of certainty, that these writings are to be ascribed to the first century, and were the compositions of native Jews writing in Greek; the precise character and circumstances of the purported authors. And another remarkable proof of authenticity is, that though the oriental idioms are preserved by all, there is a striking difference discernible in the style of each author, and a perfect similarity in the different pieces of the same writer; as for instance, in the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, and in all the Epistles of St. Paul.

The fourth chapter of the treatise is devoted to a consideration of the circumstances in the situation of the writers of the books of the New Testament, which should induce us to believe that they were true historians. Dr. Chalmers adverts to the danger and death with which the preaching of Christianity must have been attended; and from this infers the sincerity of their testimony; and from the nature of the facts they relate, the impossibility of their having been deceived.

To the direct historical testimony, Dr. Chalmers subjoins the argument from prophecy; it is a very general, but correct and forcible statement of the subject. The necessary obscurity of prophetical language is insisted upon;—the antecedence of the prophecies of the Old Testament is shown by the usual arguments, and the memorable prophecy with regard to the Jews is applied to their present condition. To this is subjoined a chapter in answer to the objections against Christianity, derived from geology, which we dismiss with observing, that it is quite as good a refutation as the objection deserves.

Dr. Chalmers has thought it necessary to crown this part of his labours by a chapter on the supreme authority of Revelation, which is addressed to Christians. There is not, we suppose, any dispute among Christians with regard to the supreme authority of revelation. It is a contradiction in terms to say any thing different; and Dr. Chalmers himself seems to be of this opinion. 'No man, calling himself a Christian, will ever disown in words the authority of the Bible. Whatever be counted the genuine interpretation, it must be submitted to.' p. 155. The subject then, which Dr. Chalmers means to discuss, is the *Interpretation of the Scriptures.* The great obstacles in his opinion to the proper interpretation of the scriptures, are the conclusions derived from natural theology. We have already attempted (much more fully than the objection would have seemed to demand, had not Dr. Chalmers so earnestly insisted upon it,) to show the use of natural theology in the general scheme of Evidences for Christianity; and it may be inferred from these remarks, that we consider inferences from that source as not unworthy our attention in the interpretation of the New Testament.

We proceed to a consideration of the system of Biblical Interpretation. It is not always easy to know precisely the meaning which Dr. Chalmers intends to convey. Some of his expressions have uncommon strength; and when general effect, and not precision is required, are exceedingly felicitous. But his repetitions are distressing to one's patience; and some slight variation of the terms, or some slight addition to them, frequently throws an uncertainty over the whole subject. This is peculiarly true in the statement of his principles of interpretation. We shall therefore quote such passages as appear to be most explicit, that we may not misrepresent his meaning.

'Now, what we complain of is, that while this principle is recognised and acted upon in every other composition which has come down to us from antiquity, it has been most glaringly departed from in the case of the Bible; that the meaning of its author, instead of being made *singly and entirely a question of grammar*, has been made a question of metaphysics, or a question of sentiment.' p. 156.

'Could we only get it reduced to a *mere question of language*, we should look at no distant period for the establishment of a pure and unanimous Christianity in the world.' p. 157.

'Let us apply the proper instrument to this examination. Let us never conceive it to be a work of speculation or fancy. It is a *pure work of grammatical analysis. It is an unmixed question of language.* The commentator who opens this book with the one hand and carries his system in the other, has nothing to do with it. *We admit of no other instrument than the vocabulary and the lexicon.* p. 171.

If Dr. Chalmers means only by the expressions which we have quoted and by all those loose and rambling remarks which conclude his '*Evidences*,' that we should come to the interpretation of scripture with fair and open minds, without bias or prepossession of any kind, we certainly shall agree with him; and wonder so plain a principle should have cost him such a lavish expense of illustration. But if, as his words import, he intends to recommend a literal mode of translation as the only one of interpreting the Christian records, a short exposition of this sad mistake may not be irrelevant.

In the first place, we would ask Dr. Chalmers which of the Greek manuscripts, or what edition of the New Testament he would put into our hands, from which, with the aid of our dictionary and grammar, we are to pick out the meaning. Michaelis has described 292 manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and his translator 177 more, which have been partially or wholly collated. Dr. Mill devoted thirty years to his edition of the sacred books; and those of Wetstein and Griesbach were the result of the labours of their assiduous lives. The fact is, biblical criticism is itself a science, and intimately connected with the question of authenticity, and a necessary prerequisite to biblical interpretation. It involves a knowledge of the authority of manuscripts and editions, of the allied languages, and an acquaintance with the early fathers;—of all which things, Dr. Chalmers gives no intimation whatever.

But suppose a text has been chosen—the next process is that of interpretation. Dr. Chalmers admits that the bible is to be interpreted like any other ancient book—that mere human learning must be brought to its elucidation, and that its pages require not to be illumined by a flash of supernatural light. We proceed to examine the efficacy of his apparatus for biblical interpretation; and we shall best do this, by adverting to the object and some of the difficulties of this science. The object is simply this—to ascertain the meaning of the author, and to associate with his words and expressions the same signification which was intended by him to be conveyed to those persons, to whom they were originally addressed. Now if language were definite, if every word and expression were an Algebraic symbol, every figure of speech a diagram, we should only be obliged to seek a correspondent expression in our own language. But we need not say how far this is from the fact. The use of words is conventional, and they become signs or marks of thought by custom or usage. No words are definite even to that people to whom they are vernacular, except those which designate the great external productions of nature; and these, perhaps, are the only words which can be said to have synonyms in other languages. And even these, strictly speaking, have not always; for though the generic appellation may suggest some of the more obvious particulars of the object, yet other circumstances are passed over. But if we recur to words which denote ideas, which have no external archetypes, as emotions evanescent and varying ideas, arbitrarily formed, the creations of fancy, and all the loose analogies of thought; it may be easily seen, that the difficulty of correct translation becomes almost insurmountable. The only approximation of which the subject admits, must be made by referring to all the circumstances which influence thought and feeling, for these, and of consequence words which are their signs, are affected by the religion, laws, customs, pursuits of a people;—by their local situation, political relations, modes of feeling and reasoning, degree of refinement, in fine, by all the circumstances of their condition. If we would know then the precise force of words and phrases in a foreign language, all these circumstances must be known; and we are afraid there is no dictionary or grammar that will teach them to us.

But in addition to the peculiarities which words assume from the general causes just mentioned, another difficulty arises from their inherent defects. Allowing that a single word may be definite and clear in its original signification, yet, from causes unnecessary here to state, it is transferred to another idea, allied in some distinguishing particular. This first transference, having been established by custom, becomes the basis of a second, and thus the succession goes on, each allied to the former, but retiring further and further from the original notion, until the relationship, if we may so speak, cannot be traced between the parent idea and that which is last adopted. Stewart's Essay on Beauty will recur to every one in illustration of these remarks, and every philosophical Lexicon abounds with examples. To instance in a single word in Schleusner's. Under the word Σὰρξ may be found no less than eighteen distinct significations, and among the last is '*vita prava*,' which has no very striking similarity to the first, *caro* seu *substantia corporis mollior in animali.* Now it is true, that an interpreter of a dead language may, provided there is no great involution of phrase, by his Lexicon and Grammar, learn a precise signification for every single word in the original, and literally transfer it to his own language, and thus make a sentence which shall not want a meaning; and after he has done all this, the probability is, that he has entirely mistaken and perverted the meaning of the original,—for 'it is one thing to construe a passage, and another to understand it.' For the latter object, the Lexicon and Grammar, of themselves, are altogether inadequate.

We add to these very cursory remarks, that besides the difficulty belonging to individual terms, there is another arising from the general character of all languages. From the circumstances above alluded to, every country has a language suited to its comforts and wants; it has also a singularity of style founded on its peculiar genius and character. Hence it is, that in the language of a people, we may trace with great certainty the main outlines of national character. One language is flexible and graceful, another dignified and stately; one is bold and free, another submissive and servile; one is honest and simple, another abounds with subtilty and courtliness; one is glowing and passionate, another is accurate and cold; one is adapted to the making of war, and another to the making of love; one is plain and unadorned, another luxuriates in all the magnificence of oriental imagery. This diversity of general character creates a correspondent difficulty of translation. The Romans could not translate the comedies of the Greeks, and we have no phrases for the thousand delicacies of French compliment.

What then will enable us to interpret correctly the productions of an ancient or foreign writer? The answer has already been partly suggested, and we only add, in general, for we have no room for particulars and illustration, that beside the circumstances above alluded to, we must ascertain the condition of the writer, his peculiar character, and especially, the precise object he had in view, and the peculiar state of the people he addressed. No Lexicon or Grammar will give us this information. A neglect of these considerations, perhaps more than any thing else, has filled our religion with corruptions. It is the interpreter who speaks, and not the author.

It was our original intention to notice all the works of Dr. Chalmers. As is known to most of our readers, he has published, in addition to the treatise before us, a series of 'Discourses on Revelation, connected with Modern Astronomy,' and also several occasional sermons. As a preacher, no man since the time of Wesley and Whitefield, has acquired such popularity as Dr. Chalmers. But we have not space to consider as it may appear to deserve, the sufficiency of his answer to the objection sometimes derived from modern astronomy, nor to examine their literary merit so fully as such popular productions might seem to demand. We think we have shown a regard for the theological and literary character of Dr. Chalmers, by choosing his Evidences for the subject of our remarks. With regard to the Discourses, we only observe, that we greatly marvel at the hardihood, which has submitted such productions to the censureship of a cool public, whose judgment is free from all influences of place and manner, and of individual character; above all, —to a decision, which is unbiassed by that ready sympathy, and consequent liability to impulse, which always pervades large portions of the human family when assembled together, especially when witnessing the express indications of deep and ordinarily hidden emotion—when each receives and reflects the impulses of the sentiment or passion which is struggling to manifest itself in all around him—and all individual emotion is merged in one great and overpowering stream of universal feeling.

We have now reached the conclusion of Dr. Chalmers' book on the Evidences of the Christian Revelation. It cannot be considered complete, lucid or correct. He has unnecessarily narrowed the ground of assent, by rejecting the aid of natural religion;—there is some confusion in his apprehensions of the real force of the various species of evidence, and an illogical division of his subject in consequence;—there is some over-statement with regard to the apostolic fathers; and he has not availed himself of all the historical resources, and still less of the mine of credibility, which is found in the writings themselves. There is also to be observed, a great deal of vague remark, unnecessary illustration and irksome repetition; and more than all, there is wanting a summary view of the whole subject—a strong statement of the strongest moral argument, which has ever been presented to the mind of man. He has given us rather the conviction of his own fervid and powerful mind on a part of the evidences, than a full statement of the whole. But this method of treating the subject is not without its uses;—it is best adapted, perhaps, to the greatest number of readers; for many will feel the earnestness, glow, self-conviction, vivacity and energy of this work, who would not appreciate one which was more cool, and staid, and elaborate. Besides, there is much done, and done well; and we are convinced, that no unbeliever in Christianity can come away from the perusal of this work, and retain his skepticism unshaken, without the assistance of his vices. More than this;—in many parts of the work high and peculiar praise belongs to Dr. Chalmers. In his delineation of the feelings which mingle in the discussion in the minds of conscientious men,—in his statement of the grounds of reliance on historical testimony, and of the importance of the evidence of proselytism,—in his answer to the objection derived from the fewness of the early converts to Christianity, we think he has no rival. Yet if any should feel his doubts unresolved after the perusal of this book, he need not sink down into the darkness and discomfort of unbelief; but he should endeavour to remove out of the cloud which has spread itself between him and heaven, by more earnest efforts, and by the assistance of better guides.

Art. XVIII.—*The Resources of the United States of America, or A View of the Agricultural, Commercial, Manufacturing, Financial, Political, Literary, Moral and Religious capacity and character of the American People. By John Bristed, Counsellor at Law.* Eastburn & Co. New York, 1818. pp. 505.

No science has received a greater share of attention in modern times, or has given rise to a greater variety of systems and parties, than political economy. It has been the favourite occupation of philosophers to investigate the elements of social happiness, and the causes of the greatness or decline of nations. Not content with admiring the fair proportions, and sound and healthy form a well-ordered commonwealth, they have laboured to dissect and lay open its whole internal structure, to trace to the fountain the life that quickens it, and to find out the secret of its strength. Nothing in the affairs of social man has escaped the diligence of their search. Every profession and craft, employed in ministering to want or luxury, has been examined in its connexion with the common good, and followed into its remotest effects. The principles of our nature have undergone a similar scrutiny. All the desires and passions, that impel man to act, have been considered in their relation, not merely to the moral condition of the individual, but to the general interests of society. Religion itself, which carries us to other scenes and other hopes, and reduces the most important concerns of life to the trifles of an hour; which points to the night and silence of the grave, as the not far distant end of all this noise, and bustle and commotion; religion itself, which seems to have so little concern with the earth-born hopes and restless contentions of men, is viewed and studied as one of the principal causes of national strength or weakness, and a chief agent in conducting a people to glory or wretchedness.

The labour bestowed in the cultivation of political philosophy has not been without its reward. The principles of that philosophy have been more clearly defined and more familiarly illustrated. From the greater number and more accurate observation of facts, its conclusions have been formed with greater certainty, and applied with more confidence to practice. Statesmen have acknowledged its authority, and have appealed to its lessons, whenever questions of national policy have been the subject of debate. It has not ended in cold and unmeaning speculation, but has embraced in its comprehensive beneficence every rank and class of men. It has taught the rich their dependence on the poor, and has increased the respect for the industrious orders of society, by shewing how important are their functions in upholding the national greatness and power. By demonstrating in how small a degree the accumulation of money contributes to national prosperity, it has diminished the pride of wealth. It has alleviated the burthens of the people by directing taxation to the least oppressive and most productive objects. In truth, it would be hardly too much to say of this philosophy, that it has disclosed a new power in society to promote the happiness, and moral elevation of its members. The end, to which it steadily aims, is the general diffusion of a spirit of order, decency and honest industry, to place within the reach of all the means of comfortable subsistence, and to make men happy and virtuous by the natural and easy development of their faculties and desires—'beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit.'

It is not to be supposed that all the glory of this science belongs to modern times. Many of the questions, discussed by late political writers, have grown, it is true, out of new relations and circumstances. The extension of commerce, and the planting of distant colonies, have afforded subjects of inquiry and debate unthought of in ages a little remote. But the leading principles of political science may be found in the treatise of Aristotle. He maintains that wealth consists rather in productive industry, than in the possession of the precious metals. He distinguishes between value in use and value in exchange. He appears to have well understood and considered the benefits of a division of labour;* the nature of money, as the medium of exchange; the difference between its intrinsic and its conventional value;† and the distinction of labour into two classes, the one terminating in itself and leaving no visible effect, the other, embodied in a permanent form in the house, or ship, or piece of cloth, about which it has been employed. With the economists of the present day, Aristotle gives the preference to agriculture over all other human employments. This sentiment indeed was the almost necessary result of the limited and humble operations of commerce at that early period, and the very small space, which they occupied in the transactions of society.

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* Polit. Lib. ii. ch. 2.

† Ethic. Lib. v.

The commercial system, on the other hand, sprang naturally from the multiplication of the objects of traffic, and the greater activity, variety and importance of commercial negotiations at the present day. To the writers of the commercial and economical sects, and still more to those who have detected and exposed the errours of both, the world is indebted for many new and ingenious speculations in political philosophy, and for much additional light on the interesting topics which it embraces.

The writers on statistics form a distinct class, whose labours have greatly assisted the progress of political philosophy by subjecting its theories to the test of experiment, and collecting those minute details, which correct the errours of former speculations, while they suggest new subjects of inquiry and lead to new and important conclusions. It would be difficult, indeed, to measure the extent of our obligations to those, who by painful research among archives and public documents—by gathering from obscure and widely scattered sources a great variety of facts, and by long and laborious calculation, have succeeded in giving us accurate information concerning the population, revenues, trade and manufactures of all the principal countries. The Germans have the merit of first reducing statistical science to a system, and teaching it in their universities. The example of elaborateness and accuracy, which their writers have given, has been followed by those of other nations; and there is perhaps no branch of study which, at the present day, can be considered more flourishing.

Until the late inestimable work of Mr. Pitkin, the United States were without any adequate statistical description. This has amply supplied the deficiency, and has laid a broad and permanent foundation of national statistics. Supposing from the title of Mr. Bristed's book, that he was treading on the same ground, we were at a loss to imagine, after so complete a view as Mr. Pitkin had presented, what necessity there could be for another. Our idea of a book of Resources was, that it must be something like that oldest statistical work on record, written entirely by the hand of Augustus, which Tiberius ordered to be brought forth and publicly read, while he amused the Roman senate and people with his modest pretence of refusing the imperial crown. In this, we are told, 'opes publicæ continebantur; quantum civium, sociorumque in armis; quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones; quæ cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus.' But Mr. Bristed's preface soon set this matter right. We there learned that it was not his intention, 'to give a statistical view of the United States,' 'but merely to give a brief outline of their physical, intellectual and moral character, capacity and resources.' This, it is true, gave us no very distinct notion of the sort of fare we were to be entertained with, but we concluded, that so large a book could not be written without a design to instruct;—the words, 'Political, Literary, Moral, and Religious,' seemed to afford room for much interesting matter aside from mere statistics, and we therefore went on with an eager appetite for fact, and a resolution to derive our share of profit from 'the great mass of materials, facts, documents and state papers,' which the author had spent *eight* years in collecting. We believed that we were to have a general view of the religion, literature, laws and manners of our country, from which we should be able to form a more correct estimate both of the space we have passed in the career of improvement, and of what remains to be accomplished. We confess, we have been disappointed. Mr. Bristed's is not a book for learners. He has given us opinions, dissertations and declamations in abundance, but very little of fact or observation. He has amused us with fine speeches, and bold figures, and confident decisions, but he has seldom conducted us by sober and convincing argument to secure and tried conclusions, nor has he often enlightened us by the communication of what was not known before, or by new views of things already familiar. He seems unwilling to be at the pains to digest, and arrange his materials. He seizes the pen, and writes with the vehemence of a man, who is running a race, scattering, as he goes, things good and evil, without method or choice, himself mainly intent upon getting first to the goal. He discovers more zeal than patience, more strength than skill, more copiousness than order, and more vivacity than any thing else. For it is not to be denied, that he is sometimes sprightly and pleasant; tells a good story now and then, and brings together words, that seem astonished to find themselves in so near a neighbourhood. There is besides, with few exceptions, a benevolence and good feeling, an attachment to old fashioned principles and wholesome doctrines, a regard for religion and law, and a solicitude to relieve the miseries, and improve the characters of men, which make us regret that the author has not done all, that he seems capable of doing.

We shall pass over Mr. Bristed's introductory remarks, his chapter on the territory, agriculture, &c. of the United States, and those on commerce, manufactures and finances. On neither of these subjects does he appear to have bestowed much attention. His statements are general, and where the authority is not given, they have too little the character of accuracy, to deserve any confidence.* He refers to Pitkin for information as to such details, as are most important to be known, and if it were probable that this valuable work, the result of so much intelligence, labour and care, would by this means be brought to the knowledge of any, who otherwise would not have had recourse to its pages, we should think that for this alone Mr. Bristed deserved some commendation.

The fifth chapter, treats of our government, policy and laws. After some remarks upon the study of political economy, and upon the ancient systems of government, which he holds to be radically defective, he proceeds to transcribe the Federal Constitution, referring at the same time to analogous parts of the constitution of the several states, and discussing, as he finds convenient, their good or evil tendency. This is the only part of the work, in which we have been able to discover any thing like method, and here the order of the constitution itself is closely followed. Mr. Bristed acknowledges at the outset his obligations to Mr. Smith, and indeed it will be found that the comparative views of the constitutions, and a large portion of the critical remarks, are drawn from the work of that gentleman.

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* This is very conspicuous in his table of population for 1817, where he has given to New Jersey an increase from 1810 to 1817 of 100,260, while the increase from 1800 to 1810 was only 34,413; and to Connecticut, whose increase from 1800 to 1810 was 10,940, he has given an increase for the last seven years of 87,626. In the same page Mr. Bristed asserts, that 'the territorial extent of the state of New York is ten thousand square miles larger than all England and Wales taken together.' Mr. Spafford, in his Gazetteer, estimates the whole area of the state at 46,085½ square miles, including all the waters with half of Lake Champlain. The territory of England and Wales is stated by Hassel to be 57,531, and by Mr. Arrowsmith [London Monthly Mag. 1816, p. 157] to be 57,960 square miles, making a difference of more than 21,000 square miles from Mr. Bristed's statement, without deducting the waters of New York.

Mr. Bristed begins with the legislative power, and his first complaint is against the frequency of elections. It is very easy to point out the evils connected with *too* frequent elections, but to determine the precise degree of frequency, that would be neither too much nor too little, will be found not free from difficulty. If annual elections are objected to, shall we substitute biennial or triennial, or shall we extend the period even to a greater number of years? It can hardly be said, that a representative chosen for two years will be more likely to be independent in his course of policy, than if chosen for one year. In either case, there must be a feeling of responsibility to the power that committed the trust. But if the representative be at all worthy of that trust, he will be more ambitious of the present applause of a few enlightened and dispassionate men, than solicitous about the clamours of the multitude. He will look beyond the present time, and proudly conscious of having done his duty, he will appeal with confidence to the event. Our own republic has furnished many triumphant examples of this contempt of popular clamour. But if, on the other hand, the representative be of that cringing disposition, that he will rather comply with the common delusion, than hazard his re-election, it is certainly far better, that he be re-elected for a short, than for a long term.

Nor are we quite sure, that there is not as much danger in a long, as in a short term of office. If the speedy recurrence to the people be alleged on the one hand, may not the stronger temptation be urged on the other? Who, for the chance of bearing the honours of office one year longer, will expose himself to self reproach, to the present contempt of the wise and good, and at last to the curses of the very men, who might flatter and extol him now?

The truth is, that the whole theory of our governments is founded on the assumption, that the people will have virtue and intelligence enough to select the good and wise, if not the best and wisest, for offices of trust and power; and that, however they may be carried away by a momentary passion or a strong delusion, they will ultimately return to sober and practical good sense. If this assumption be wrong, then the whole system is also wrong. The principle pervades it too deeply and generally, to leave any hope of remedy, if there exist this unsoundness at the core. In making these remarks, we would not be understood to recommend very short terms of office, as salutary; nor to intend any thing more, than to shew that our existing institutions ought not at once to be condemned. With what degree of frequency the power entrusted to the people should again return into their hands, is a question deserving a fair and thorough trial. The popular doctrine has been supported by men of eminent wisdom and integrity, even in England.

At the time of passing the septennial act, we find Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, contending for frequent elections, as the best corrective of some of the evils, which Mr. Bristed has here imputed to them. 'An annuity,' he says, 'for seven years, deserves a better consideration than one for three; and those, that will give money to get into Parliament, will give more for seven, than for three years. Nothing will so effectually prevent expenses as annual parliaments; that was our ancient constitution, and every departing from it, is usually attended with great inconveniences.' *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. vi. p. 440. And again, (p. 442.) 'Is it reasonable any particular men should for a long time engross so great a trust exclusive of others? Can it be of advantage to the public, that the counties, cities and boroughs, should be long confined to those they have once chosen, their interests admitting of great variation in length of time? Frequent new parliaments are our constitution, and the calling and holding of them was for many ages the practice. Before the conquest, parliaments were held three times every year, at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. In Edward 3d's time it was enacted, 'that parliament should be holden every year once, and oftener if need be.' This must be understood of new parliaments, for prorogations and long adjournments were not then known; they were never heard of till late years.'

Every form of government must have its evils, and in the popular form, the influence of the passions and prejudices of the people upon their representatives, the unsteadiness of councils and wavering policy, and the machinations of faction, are not among the least. But is their cause to be found in the frequency of elections?

We may add, that it is well known, that most of the provincial governments had an elective branch, re-elected with more or less frequency. After our independence was acquired, the habits, which had prevailed, were continued. They had become too deeply fixed to admit of change. In most of the New England states annual elections have prevailed from the first settlement of the country, and a proposal for biennial elections would probably be about as well received, as a proposal for biennial harvests.

Mr. Bristed also objects to the mode of voting by *ballot*, which is so generally adopted among us. We cannot enter into the discussion of this question. But if we mistake not, experience has proved that elections by *ballot* are much less liable to improper control, and far more orderly and quiet, than when the mode of *polling* is adopted. In New York, the constitution leaves it to experiment to decide, whether the mode by *ballot* should be continued, or the *viva voce* mode restored. The legislature of that state thought fit, after a fair trial, to adhere to the mode by ballot, and has thus given a strong practical testimony in its favour. As for the frauds, of which Mr. Bristed speaks, we do not believe in their existence to any alarming extent.

Universal suffrage; the qualification of property in the elected, required in many of the states; the exclusion of the clergy by some state constitutions, and of the executive officers by that of the United States, from seats in the legislature; and the wretched, wasteful system of half-paying the public servants, are also criticised by Mr. Bristed. But these we must pass over.

No part of the Federal Constitution has, in its practical effects, more completely vindicated the wisdom of those who contrived it, than the principle of rotation in the Senate. It is well calculated to unite with the smaller number, superior gravity, greater responsibility, and different mode of election of that branch of the legislature, in giving stability, consistency and foresight to our government and laws. We readily concur with Mr. Bristed in all the encomiums he has bestowed on it, and in regretting that so few of the state constitutions are guarded by a similar provision. The qualified negative vested by the constitution of the United States in the president, and by most of the state constitutions in the chief executive magistrate, either with or without a council, is also, and we think justly, a subject of Mr. Bristed's applause.

In noticing the several powers, which are expressly given to the Congress of the United States, Mr. Bristed is led to speak of changing the seat of government. He discusses this subject at greater length, and with more zeal, than seems to us consistent with the avowed purposes of his book, and delivers his opinion in terms so broad and confident, that, however we may agree with him generally in opinion, we must be allowed to hope, that he has here ascribed too important consequences to mere locality.

'Indeed,' he says, 'it is almost impossible, that there ever can be a wise and efficient administration of the American government, while its seat continues at Washington; because no practical information upon any subjects of importance to the well-being of the community can be obtained there. If advice be wanted on any great political or commercial question, no advice can be had; for *no statesmen* or merchants reside at Washington; and neither public nor private libraries are to be found there; [Is there not a Congress library of several thousand volumes?] whatever wisdom is required must be derived from the members of Congress themselves. [Not quite a hopeless resort, we trust.] Add to this, that there is *no* weight of population, talents, property or character, to regulate and influence the discussions of Congress, so as to restrain that venerable body from *too often* enacting absurd and oppressive laws.' p. 145.

A little before, Mr. Bristed had thus facetiously described our grave legislators.

'These very congress-men consisting of forty senators, and about two hundred representatives, are, for the greater part, made up of farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, feeless physicians and unpractising lawyers, whose wages of legislation amount to six dollars a day during the session, while they sit brooding and engendering laws for the direction of the Union—these men, without equipages, nay, unattended by a single servant, annually wander up to Congress, from their respective districts, in steam boats, sloops and stages, and, during their session in the Federal City, are domiciled in boarding-houses.' p. 142.

Now, let it be remembered, that this book is expressly designed to convey to the people of Europe more correct notions of the 'resources and character' of the United States—that it is the work of one, who, though a foreigner, has adopted this, as his country, who, for the most part, speaks of us in high terms of praise, and whose unfavourable representations will of course be received as confessions—and then we would ask, if one of those Europeans, knowing nothing or very little about us, should read these passages, will he be likely to be assisted by them to form just conceptions of our character and condition; or will he rather exclaim, 'if such be the governors, what must be the people?' Will he suppose, that Washington is within a day's ride of Baltimore and Richmond, and two days of Philadelphia, or will he suppose it 'a lodge in some vast wilderness,' remote from human habitation, and almost as difficult of discovery, though not quite so inviting when found, as that secluded nation describ-ed in the travels of *Gaudentio de Lucca?* Will he not turn back with amazement to the declarations of a former page, that,

'Humanely speaking, no circumstances can prevent these United States from becoming, eventually, and at no distant period, a great and powerful nation, influencing and controlling the other sovereignties of the world,' (p. 1)—that 'these vast territorial domains are held by a population free as the air they breathe—a population powerful in physical activity and strength; patient of toil and prodigal of life; brave, enterprising, intelligent and persevering; presenting, both in body and in mind, the noblest materials for the formation of national greatness, prosperity and influence' (p. 2)—'an enterprising, intelligent, spirited, aspiring people, that *must* be, ere long, and that *ought*, before this period, to have been, better known and more justly appreciated by the potentates and nations of Europe?' p. 10.

The executive branch of the government comes next into view. Mr. Bristed, in common with all others who are friends to the original principles of the Federal Constitution, laments the change in the mode of electing the president and vice president, which was made by the twelfth article of the amendments; but he seems not to have understood the reason of the original provision. In requiring the ballots to be given for two persons, it was no doubt the intention, as far as was possible, to guard against any attempt on the part of large and influential states, to control the election. The electors must vote for two persons as president, one of whom must be an inhabitant of a different state from their own. It would of course generally happen, that the two persons voted for would not both be inhabitants of one state. Every state must therefore necessarily have a competitor to the candidate it should support, and this division of the chance would make the temptation less to enter into any intrigue or cabal for the purpose of affecting the election of one of its citizens. For the same reason, in case of an equality of votes, the House of Representatives, on which the choice in such case fell, was to vote by states, and a majority of all the states was necessary to a choice. Nothing could have a stronger tendency to protect the smaller states, than these provisions; and this, we conceive, to have been the object rather than a design to secure an equality of merit in the two officers.

The repeal of this clause was the first inroad made upon the constitution, and it was one of no small importance in its character and consequences.

The treaty-making power may be regarded as a distinct branch in the organization of our government, partly executive, and partly legislative in its character. It is worthy of remark, that while the limits of every other power are accurately defined, upon this there is no other restriction, than that which arises from the want of power in Congress to pass such laws as might be required for carrying the treaty into effect, or from the clauses in the Constitution expressly denying certain powers to the United States. Should a treaty, for instance, stipulate for the imposition of a duty on articles exported, it must be ineffectual; but if it concede to the subjects of a foreign power a right to purchase and hold lands in any of the United States, this, though it repeals a very important part of the laws of every state, becomes at once 'the supreme law of the land;' yet a law enacted by Congress to the same purpose would be altogether null, because it would exceed the powers vested by the constitution in that body. There are many judicial decisions, which recognise this paramount authority of treaties. It will be sufficient here to refer to the case of *Jackson* vs. *Wright*, reported 4 *John. Rep.* 75, in which an act of the legislature of New York was held inoperative, because opposed to the provisions of the treaty of 1794.

Thus by the clause, 'he shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur,' an unlimited legislative authority is vested in the president, and two thirds of the Senate, excepting in cases expressly prohibited; whereas the general theory of the constitution is, that all powers not expressly granted, or necessarily implied, are reserved to the states or to the people, and this general limitation of power is confirmed by an amendment. It is probable, that this power was thought to be sufficiently limited by its very nature and purpose; and that, as it was impossible to foresee all the occasions of acting which our foreign relations might produce, it was esteemed most safe to leave the treaty-making power unembarrassed by any specific enumeration. Indeed it is not easy to see, in what manner this power can ever become oppressive or dangerous in its exercise, unless foreign corruption should find its way into our cabinet. Even in that case, it is suggested by the Federalist, that a treaty obtained by fraud would not be binding. But what court would have power to inquire into this fraud, and on that ground to refuse its respect to this 'supreme law of the land?'

A delicate and interesting question would arise, if a law of Congress should be passed conflicting with the provisions of a treaty. This could not well happen, while the president and Senate remained the same. But a change of men and of parties may bring about such an opposition after four or six years; and in that case, we can hardly doubt, that the acts of that power, in the exercise of which the national faith is pledged, would be deemed of paramount authority.

Mr. Bristed thinks it a happy feature in our national constitution, that it has not compelled the president to consult with an executive council; and he condemns such of our state constitutions as have placed their chief magistrate under the control of such councils. The mischiefs imputed to this arrangement are, that responsibility is destroyed by being divided among many, and that the executive is deprived of unity, decision and energy.

Of the next great branch of our government, the judiciary, Mr. Bristed tells us little more than is contained in the several clauses respecting it, which he transcribes from the constitution. After saying, that by the American law, both state and federal, the crime of treason works no forfeiture of property, or corruption of blood, (which, by the way is not altogether true, since treason against the state of Massachusetts is punished by forfeiture of all the offender's goods, chattels and lands,) and kindly informing us, that some very able arguments in favour of the English doctrine of attainder may be found in Lord Hardwicke's 'Treatise on the Law of forfeiture,' and in Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses,' he proceeds to give the substance of 'some very valuable observations on the American Judiciary,' contained in Mr. Smith's 'Comparative View,' and in Mr. Chancellor Kent's introductory lecture, to his 'Course of Law Lectures.' We shall not follow him through these remarks, but shall only state, that the limitation of a judge's continuance in office to a certain prescribed age, found in the constitutions of New York and New Hampshire, is censured as cruel and absurd; that the salaries of the federal judges are pronounced, and we think very justly, to be insufficient; that the annual appointment of judges in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Vermont, is entitled with our most hearty concurrence 'a lamentable provision;' and that to make the judges removable otherwise than by impeachment is thought to endanger their independence.

The question, whether the courts of the United States can declare a legislative act void, which is repugnant to the constitution, has long since been at rest. Mr. Bristed, however, thinks proper to enter into a long argument to prove, that they ought to have this power. He would have done better, we think, if he had transcribed the admirably clear and conclusive reasoning of Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison*, (1 *Cranch's Rep.* 176.) He would have there found, that 'a legislative act contrary to the constitution is not law,' and of course, that he is in an errour, when he says, as he does in page 189, that the federal judiciary, 'have no power to determine the validity of state statutes, by the provisions of state constitutions, that power belonging exclusively to the state judiciary.' If a statute repugnant to a state constitution is void, it can no more be respected as law by the courts of the United States, than by those of the state, especially as the former are directed by the judiciary act to make the laws of the several states in which they sit, the rules of their decision. But it is sufficient to refer to cases, in which this power has been exercised by the federal courts. They are *Terret* vs. *Taylor*, 9 *Cranch's Rep.* 55, in the Supreme Court of the United States, and *Society, &c.* vs. *Wheeler*, 2 *Gall. Rep.* 105, in the Circuit Court of the first Circuit.

There is another important errour in page 192. Mr. Bristed there says; 'in some of the states an *attachment* law prevails, under which a person, absent from the state, may have a judgment rendered against him, *that shall bind all his property all over the world*, without any personal notice being given to him, or any opportunity afforded for him to defend the suit; which is a mode of proceeding contrary to the first principles of justice. This attachment law is in full force throughout *all the New England*, and many of the Southern and Western States.' This certainly is not true, as to any one of the New England states, the lien by attachment being in all of them confined to real property described in the officer's return, and to goods and chattels, which he takes into his actual custody. There is no correct information in Mr. Bristed's book, that will half compensate for this hasty and groundless imputation upon the character of our laws.

By way of conclusion to his remarks on the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Bristed inserts the plan of government prepared by General Hamilton. The leading features of this scheme are, that the senators and chief executive officer are to hold their offices during good behaviour; all impeachments to be tried by a court, consisting of the chief justice of each state; and the governor of each state to be appointed by the general government.

We have now accompanied Mr. Bristed through his 'summary of the provisions of the United States' Constitution,' in which we have been the more minute, because, if any part of the book has any value, we think it must be this. Yet we are at a loss to imagine, how any, whether citizens or foreigners, are to gather useful instruction concerning our government and laws from the pages we have been reviewing. They contain no facts connected with these subjects, which have not been before in a far more palpable shape, placed within the reach of all, who feel any interest to know them. Nor can we think it other than strange, considering the purpose for which Mr. Bristed professes to write, that he has given no account of the several departments of our government, their organization, duties and powers; and has said not a word to help his readers to understand the manner, in which our revenues are collected, our commerce foreign and internal regulated, our territories governed, and the authority of the laws enforced in every part of our empire. He has done about as much towards giving a correct knowledge of our government and laws, as one would do towards understanding a complicated machine, who should set before us only the moving power, without attempting to describe the wheels and springs, by which motion is communicated to every part, nor any of the minute operations which conspire to produce the intended effect. We are told, that Congress has power to coin money and to regulate its value; but we are no where informed, that any use has been made of this power. The mint establishment is not once alluded to. The same may be said of almost every other power, which is granted to the general government.

But it is a still more unaccountable omission, that so important a branch as the judiciary should be passed over with nothing more, than a mere detail of the constitutional provisions respecting it, a disquisition upon the independence of judges, a few remarks upon their power to decide according to the constitution rather than statutes, where they are opposed; and a hint at the questions, whether states can be sued, and whether there is any common law jurisdiction in the United States' Courts. It was incumbent on Mr. Bristed to do much more than this. He should not have left his readers in ignorance, that courts inferior to the Supreme Court have been erected, by which justice is dispensed in every part of the country. He should have explained, what to those who look on us only from a distance, must appear mysterious, the existence of two independent and co-ordinate judiciaries acting immediately upon the people in every state. He should have pointed out that singular feature in our judicial institutions, the union of common-law, chancery and maritime jurisdiction in one and the same court, so that it is often called upon to act in the three characters successively in a single day. The powers of the Supreme Court, both original and appellate, should have been described, as they actually exist and are exercised, under the laws passed by Congress in obedience to the constitution. It was the more necessary to do this, because it was very early held, that the Supreme Court derives no jurisdiction immediately from the constitution, but is invested by Congress with all the powers it possesses. That the constitution is imperative upon Congress to give all the powers specified, and that it can give no more, was not less important to be known, than the powers themselves. The single case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison* would convey a more complete knowledge of our judicial system, than the provisions of the constitution, with all Mr. Bristed's comments; and yet this case is but one among many, that might be quoted. Did Mr. Bristed think it unnecessary to say any thing more of our criminal code, than that 'it is much milder than that of England?' Did he think himself enlightening or instructing any one by this general declaration? But if we should attempt to give a catalogue of all Mr. Bristed's omissions, we should make a book, as large as the Resources. The truth, we suspect, is, that he finds it much easier to draw out long and verbose discussions, than by slow and patient toil to collect, arrange and communicate useful facts.

The following passage is a specimen of the loose, general and inaccurate character of most of Mr. Bristed's statements.

> 'The laws in this country generally favour the debtor at the expense of the creditor, and so far encourage dishonesty. The number of insolvents in every state is prodigious and continually increasing. They very seldom pay any part of their debts, but get discharged by the state insolvent laws with great facility, and secrete what property they please for their own use, without the creditor's being able to touch a single stiver.' p. 286.

But the deplorable picture of our state courts presented in the following paragraph, is something worse than general; it has no foundation in truth, and must be set down to the author's imagination, or to his propensity for broad and sweeping assertions.

> 'Throughout the separate states, whatever may be the mode of appointing or the official tenure of the superior judges, the justices and judges of the Common Pleas, and other inferior courts *are generally appointed during pleasure*, and receive their income from the fees of office; whence litigation is grievously encouraged among the poorer classes of the community, *and a horrible perversion of justice corrupts the whole body of the commonwealth.* p. 287.

Alas! for Mr. Bristed's adopted country, if this is to be believed! There is much reason to fear that all 'its physical capacities,' and 'prodigious capabilities' will hardly save it from ruin.

We shall not attempt, to trace Mr. Bristed through his long disquisition upon the radical weakness of our government, which however is 'continually to increase in strength, the longer it lasts;' nor shall we so much as enumerate the opinions and arguments, philosophical, moral, political and historical, which are mixed up with occasional pleasantries, and many soaring rhapsodies, in the rest of this long chapter. Most of these have nothing to do with the main subject, but are honest and harmless. From this last remark, however, we must except the author's opinion more than once intimated, that it is for the interest of the United States to 'aggrandize' themselves by acquiring, no matter how, the Floridas, and the Spanish West India colonies. If it be true, as the author asserts, that 'Britain, during her late conflict with revolutionary France, offered either Cuba or St. Domingo to this country,' but Mr. Jefferson declined the offer, we applaud Mr. Jefferson for so doing; nor can we think, that he has thereby 'materially delayed the career of America towards the summit of national ascendancy and greatness,' (p. 246.) We are not yet quite so 'statesmanlike' as to hold governments absolved from the ties of moral justice; nor do we believe, that it is consistent with any enlightened policy for the United States to seek the possession of foreign colonies.

Several pages of this chapter are occupied with remarks on the study of the law, and advice to the American student. In noticing the several institutions and lectures for the study of jurisprudence, Mr. Bristed has omitted the Law Professorship and Law School recently founded at Harvard University.

In his chapter on the literature of the United States, Mr. Bristed has enumerated a great variety of reasons for our inferiority in this respect to the older nations of Europe. We think them, in general, just, and they are such as necessarily grow out of our social and political condition. In no departments however, which depend on the force of their own minds,—'quæ natura, non litteris, assecuti sunt'—can Americans be deemed deficient. This Mr. Bristed acknowledges, as well as the general diffusion of the most useful and necessary knowledge among all classes of our people. He says truly, that the best scholars among us are those, who are devoted to some other pursuit, and are chiefly ambitious of eminence, as divines, judges, lawyers or legislators. We have, at least, the consolation to perceive, that as the means of education are increased, the desire of becoming thorough scholars increases with them. Nor even against the influence of so many causes, have we been without some bright examples of science and erudition. One of these, now in the midst of his life and his studies, has been too celebrated for his researches in mathematics and astronomy, to be omitted with propriety in an account of the present state of our literature. The first philosophical society in Europe has recently pronounced its decision upon the value of his labours, by enrolling him among its members. We regret, that Mr. Bristed, while noticing our living authors, forgot to include Mr. Bowditch in the number.

It is true, that Mr. Bristed has cut short all objections of this sort by declaring, that it is not his intention, 'to notice all the writers, who have, by their talents and information, shed a lustre on the United States; but merely to mark out a few examples of different species of literary excellence.' But even this intention, limited as it is, is so imperfectly executed, as rather to mislead, than to instruct. If any of our publications are distinguished by classical purity of style, as well as depth and originality of thought, it is our sermons. These are altogether unnoticed, nor is theology mentioned as a branch of study, to which Americans have given any attention. It would hardly be discovered from Mr. Bristed, that we have any political writers of note, excepting Mr. Walsh. Even the 'Defence of the American Constitutions,' a work rich in learning and in the philosophy of government, and treating besides upon subjects, which occupy so many pages of Mr. Bristed's book, is passed over with the same silence, as if it had never existed.

The subject also required a more full account of our several literary societies and of their publications. We are only told, that 'there are learned societies in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, which have contributed, and are continually contributing much to the growth of intellect and information in the United States.'

Several of the statements contained in this chapter have occasioned us no little surprise, and we cannot but think, that they partake more of the spirit of some of those travellers, who are censured in the introductory remarks to this volume, than of that observing, philosophic temper, to which Mr. Bristed lays claim for himself.

His remarks on the use of books in our public libraries are of this character, but we shall pass them over, to notice some still more singular and extravagant misrepresentations. Who ever suspected, that in our schools, 'the use of the grammar is either exploded altogether, or very superficially taught.' Yet this is very gravely asserted by Mr. Bristed, [p. 322.] and he steps forth as the champion of syntax and prosody, to defend them against the conspiracy, which is about to depose them from their high place in the business of education, and to substitute the Dictionary, and Lexicon and Vocabulary in their stead. It must be allowed, that he puts forth a strong aim for their protection, and very clearly demonstrates, what very few have doubted, that without the study of grammar, languages cannot be thoroughly acquired. Yet so deep hold has this plot obtained of his imagination, that he gives up the cause in despair, and, in spite of all his efforts, anticipates the triumph of the anti-grammarians—'Nevertheless, we shall probably witness the abolition of grammar, as the basis of classical study in the United States.' [p. 326.]

We hardly need say, that we believe Mr. Bristed's fears on this head to be altogether groundless.

It is also quite new to us, and we believe will be so to most of our readers, 'that the Americans, all over the union, read Greek and Latin with the Scottish pronunciation'—and that the reason of this anomaly is, that 'ever since the country has been settled, the dead languages have been generally taught by Scottish schoolmasters and professors, who grafted their own mode of pronunciation upon the native stock of English in the United States.' (p. 337.) Now it is very well said, (p. 337.) that 'there appears to be no good reason, why the Americans, who, in general, pronounce the English language in greater purity, than the people of England, should violate all the analogies of their own living pronunciation, and ingraft into their classical utterance a foreign tone and accent borrowed from the Scottish;' and we beg leave to add, that there is no better reason for asserting that they have done so. The thing is not more unnatural, than it is untrue.

We can never forget, that all this is set down for the purpose of making us better known to the people of Europe. It is because, 'the Americans themselves have not yet told their own story well; nor sufficiently directed their mind towards fathoming the capabilities of their own country,' that Mr. Bristed kindly takes up the pen. We suspect our New Englanders, both male and female, will hardly thank him for such an introduction, as is contained in the following paragraph.

> 'This eloquence of the nose, rather than of the mouth, prevails greatly in New England, whose surplus population has long been spread annually over New York and the Western States; whence this mode of elocution is continually gaining ground throughout the Union. Its origin is supposed to be traced to the County of Kent in England, and it greatly resembles the nasal sing-song, or eternal chant of the few elder Scottish congregations, whether covenanters, or seceders, that are yet to be found in this country. Unfortunately our ears are saluted with these funereal sounds at the bar, from the pulpit, and *ex cathedra*, in the colleges. In common conversation also we meet them; and even the roseate lips of female loveliness occasionally condescend to call in the aid of the nasal organ to temper the sweetness of their silver tones.' p. 331.

But the clergy, we think, have the best reason to complain. They are charged with monopolizing the professors' chairs, and introducing a very low and imperfect system of education in our colleges. Lectures, it is said, 'on great general subjects' are seldom delivered there, because these monoplizing clergy are inadequate to the task of unfolding the principles of 'moral philosophy, metaphysics, political economy, history, belles lettres, and rhetoric.' Against this accusation we would raise our most solemn protest. If the professors' chairs are most often filled by clergymen, it is because they, by their talents and learning, by their retired habits, their exemplary lives, and their separation from the pursuits of ambition or of gain, are best qualified to fill them. Lectures in these branches are now, it is believed, delivered in our principal colleges, and if some of them have not been introduced till of late, the delay is to be attributed to the infancy of all our institutions.

We shall here leave Mr. Bristed's chapter on literature, adding merely, that it is correct only where it is useless.

We must confine ourselves to a very slight notice of the chapter 'on the habits, manners, and character of the United States.' We are better satisfied with some parts of this chapter, than with any other part of the book. It contains some wholesome remarks on the influence of religion and morals, and decribes, with a good degree of accuracy, both our virtues and our faults. The unhappy consequences of infidelity and atheism are strongly depicted, and some of our most valuable institutions of a charitable or religious nature receive their due share of praise. The following passage closes a view of the moral state of the world at the time when Christianity apppeared.

'Wherever Christianity spread its mild and benignant light, the waste and wilderness of life began to bloom as the paradise of God; the nations of the earth became purified and exalted in all their moral and intellectual faculties; they were freed from the fetters of political, social and domestic slavery; they were more advanced in skill and knowledge, more deeply versed in science, more accomplished in literature, more alive to industry and enterprise, more refined in all social intercourse, more adorned with every noble virtue and every polished grace, more benevolent to man, more devoted to God.' p. 400.

The following is Mr. Bristed's description of the habits and manners of New England; we insert it out of justice to him, as making some amends for passages before quoted.

'In New England property is more equally divided than in any other civilized country. There are but few overgrown capitalists, and still fewer plunged into the depths of indigence. Those states are alike free from the insolence of wealth, on one hand, and the servility of pauperism on the other. They exhibit a more perfect equality in means, morals, manners and character, than has ever elsewhere been found. With the exception of Rhode Island, they all support religion by law; their numerous parish priests, all chosen by the people themselves, moderately paid, and in general, well informed and pious, are continually employed on the Sabbaths, and during the week days, in the instruction and amendment of their respective congregations; their elementary schools are established in every township, and perhaps not a native of New England is to be found, who cannot read and write and cast accounts. They live universally in villages, or moderately sized towns; and carry on their commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural operations, by the voluntary labour of freemen, and not by the compelled toil of slaves. In sobriety of morals and manners, in intelligence, spirit and enterprise, the New England men and the Scottish are very much alike.' p. 420.

In this chapter, and in that on our laws and policy, Mr. Bristed imputes to the poor laws much of the profligacy and misery, which are found among the lower classes of society. In connexion with this subject, he introduces very properly that of excessive drinking, a vice which is making a most alarming progress among us, and calls loudly for more effectual means of restraint, and still more, for some judicious scheme for saving the younger part of the community from its destructive influence. We are told (p. 440, 441,) that in the city of New York, there are *three thousand houses* licensed to sell spirituous liquors, while in London, containing twelve times the population, there are no more than *four thousand two hundred and twenty.*

We have the fullest belief in the injurious effects of slavery upon the morals and habits of a people ; but its tendency, in those parts of our country where it exists, is in some measure counteracted by their political connexion with other states exempt from this evil. The city of Charleston, especially, is distinguished for a refinement of manners, and a proficiency in all the arts and charities of social life, which must throw suspicion upon every tale like the following.

'In South Carolina, the negro slaves are, by law, *burned alive* for the crimes of arson, burglary and murder. So lately as the year 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive, *over a slow fire*, in the midst of the market place in the city of Charleston.' p. 155.

We have inquired into the truth of the fact here stated, and upon the authority of intelligent citizens, who resided in Charleston at the time, we pronounce it groundless. The author has given a too credulous ear, and a too willing circulation, to some false or exaggerated report.

In page 425, we have another instance of the levity and rashness, with which Mr. Bristed adopts and retails anecdotes of this sort.

'Virginia prides itself on the comparative mildness, with which its slaves are treated ; and yet, in the first volume of the American Museum there is a heart-rending account of a slave being, for some offence, put into an iron cage, suspended to the branches of a lofty tree, and left to perish by famine and thirst, unless the birds of prey, to admit which, the bars of the cage stood at intervals sufficiently wide, could terminate his life sooner, by plunging their beaks and talons into his vitals. In the mean time the eagle, the vulture, and the raven feasted upon the quivering flesh of the living victim, whose body they mangled at their own leisure; and the high-spirited republicans of the ancient dominion were gratified by knowing, that the air was tainted by the putrefaction, and loaded by the expiring cries and groans of an agonized fellow-man, doomed to die by protracted torture.' p. 425.

We have read the original of this story, and it is indeed a 'heart rending account,' far exceeding in horror the faint abstract which Mr. Bristed has presented. But it bears on its face, in every sentence, the unequivocal marks of fiction. And a fiction it undoubtedly is; for in the American Museum it apears as an extract from Hector St. John's American Farmers' Letters, a production principally of the imagination of the same St. John De Crevecoeur, of whose 'pretended travels' Mr. Bristed speaks not very respectfully in his introductory remarks.

We have room but for one more of Mr. Bristed's accusations; and that, if true, would denote a state of society so horrible and barbarous, that we can hardly conceive of a fate more pitiable, than that of being compelled to live in such a country.

'Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as social subordination in the United States. Parents have no command over their children, nor teachers over their scholars, nor lawyers nor physicians over their pupils, nor farmers over their labourers, nor merchants over their clerks, carmen and porters, nor masters over their servants. All are equal, all do as they like, and all are free *not* to work, except the master, who must be himself a slave, if he means his business to prosper, for he has no control over any other head, eyes or hands, than his own. Owing, perhaps, to the very popular nature of our institutions, the American children are seldom taught that profound reverence for, and strict obedience to their parents, which are at once the basis of domestic comfort, and of the welfare of the children themselves. Of course, where there is no parental authority, there can be no discipline in schools and colleges. If a preceptor presume to strike, or effectually punish a boy, he most probably loses at least one scholar, perhaps more. And as no inconvenience attaches to a boy's being expelled from school or college, the teachers have no authority, nor learning any honour in the United States.' p. 458.

To those, who know any thing of our social and domestic relations it is unnecessary to say, that the original of this sad picture exists no where, but in the writer's imagination.

Mr. Bristed's style is of the worst kind. He is sometimes coarse, but never simple or natural. His great efforts for the most part rise into the region of bombast, and his common style is never far removed from it. He often makes use of a pert, petulant manner, which has an air of gaiety, and affects to please by its tartness. He attempts to treat things 'in a free and merry way,' and would be thought facetious; but if, according to Isaac Barrow's definition, facetiousness implies 'a nimble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention, a vivacity of spirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar,' we think Mr. Bristed's humour has not the true marks. We do not discover in his writing any of that pure classical taste, with the want of which he reproaches us Americans.

We shall quote a few passages, all we have room for, in confirmation of these remarks, after noticing Mr. Jefferson's prediction of the ruin of England;

> 'Thy heart was father, Thomas, to that wish!'—'But nearly forty years have rolled their eventful tide of time, since the sage of Monticello croaked, from out his mountain cavern, this ill-omened prophecy—and the sun of England is *not* set. Nay, has it yet culminated from the equator? Have facts accorded with the sinister forebodings of this inauspicious prophet? Since the utterance of this oracular dirge, has she not broken down the giant strength of revolutionary France; restored the balance of empire to Europe; given peace to an exhausted world; and seated herself upon an eminence of national glory, that casts into shade all the lustre of Greek and Roman fame?' p. 270.

After speaking of the difficulties, with which England has to contend;

> 'Meanwhile her child and rival, America, is rapidly emerging into unparalleled national greatness; is flaming upwards, like a pyramid of fire; so that all the western horizon is in a blaze with the brightness of its ascending glory.' p. 244.

In page 196, we have the following string of incongruous metaphors;

> 'And it is full time, that the people of this country should learn the necessity of *ballasting* the speculative projects of the sanguine, the credulous, the precipitate political innovator with the cautious deliberation, the practical wisdom of the experienced, forecasting statesman, of the profound and enlightened judge.

Then, indeed, might the whole Federal Union be melted down into one living body of *national* peace, security, permanent prosperity and power, by the gradual diffusion of a uniform system of municipal law over all the different confederated state sovereignties. It would not then be easy, even for the hydra-headed monster faction herself, to disentangle the warp and the woof, which might be interwoven, thread upon thread, throughout all the texture of society.'

These are by no means the worst passages in the book. We have selected them because they were short. There are besides in almost every page inaccuracies of language and style, such as the following;

'The whole country is one *continued intersection* of rivers,' (p. 2)—" has caused the star of Napoleon to fade into a dim tinct;' (p. 51)—' felicitous cantagion of liberty,' ' felicitous invention,' 'most felicitous of all the diplomatic transactions,' ' daring and felicitous heroism.' The reader is 'recommended to peruse' Inchiquin's letters; (p. 297)—and 'Congress is recommended to improve' the organization, &c. of the militia; (p. 497)—honest men are called upon 'to *rampire* the Union round about with their bodies;' (p. 213). 'In New York are manufactured wheel carriages of all kinds, *the common manufactories*, refined sugar, &c. and steam-boats.' p. 62.

Mr. Bristed seems to have a particular fondness for counting-house expressions. We meet every where with such phrases as,

'Averaging a fertile soil'—' averaging an increase'—' to average a superiority'—the 'demand' for hypocrisy is said to be in proportion to that for true religion, (p. 414) and exhibitions of great talents always to follow 'the demand for their display;' (p. 488)—' the literary, like every other market, must always be supplied with commodities in quality and quantity proportioned to its demand for merchantable wares;' (p. 311). So too, we read (p. 316) of 'consuming the talent of the country in the effusion of newspaper essays.' There is an occasional coarseness and vulgarity; thus, (p. 46) 'America cannot contend with British manufactures in foreign markets, seeing *they are beat* in the unequal competition at home;' (p. 432)—' learning, &c. have not yet made *much headway* in the west;' (p. 473)—' disseminating the *dead-lights* of infidelity and jacobinism'—and in page 408 we are told 'it sometimes happens that Jehovah himself is *shouldered* from the altar.'

We find in this book, and in the Resources of the British Empire, the phrase, 'without a peradventure,' which we can hardly think to be English.

We shall now quote what appears to us to be one of the best written passages in the book, and to describe with considerable liveliness the appearance of our travelling emigrants.

'On the great route towards the Ohio, the traveller has constantly in view groups of emigrants, directing their steps towards the land of promise; some with a little light waggon, covered with a sheet or blanket, and containing bedding, utensils, provisions, and a colony of children, drawn by one or two small horses, and perhaps accompanied by a cow. A few silver dollars also are carried for the purchase of public land, at two dollars an acre, one fourth of the purchase money to be paid immediately upon entering the claim at the land-office of the district, where the purchase is located. The New England pilgrims are said to be known by the light step and cheerful air of the women, marching in front of the family caravan; the New Jersey wanderers by being quietly housed under the tilt of the waggon; while the Pennsylvania emigrants creep, loitering behind, with melancholy gait and slow. A cart with one horse, or a single horse and pack-saddle, transports a family from the eastern to the western section of the Union, a distance of between two and three thousand miles; and, not unfrequently, the adventurer carries all his fortune on his staff, while his wife, bare footed, follows, bearing on her shoulders the treasure of the cradle.' p. 427.

Mr. Bristed's 'eight years' have, we fear, been spent to very little purpose, if they have not been more profitable to himself, than his 'voluminous masses of materials relating to our Federative Republic' are likely to be to the world. He has certainly, however, improved, both in style and matter, since we made our first acquaintance with him as an author, which it was our fortune to do some years since, in the character of a pedestrian traveller into the highlands of Scotland. Two octavo volumes, embellished with an engraving exhibiting at full length our author and his companion in their travelling dress, were the fruit of that tour. The disguise of an American sailor, which Mr. Bristed assumed, betrays his early predilection for this country. His adventures are related in a style of affected humour, and a carefulness to say nothing 'in the simple and plain way,' of which we trace some remains even in this more matured production of the author's genius. We remember little more of them, than that they were generally such, as gentlemen might expect to meet with, who take upon themselves the disguise of vagabonds; that they were arrested as spies at one time, and in want of a night's lodging at another; and that Mr. Bristed was taken for Buonaparte, and was in imminent danger of being married to a Scottish *auld-wife*, whose pity he excited by representing to her, that in America the wives were of all colours from blue to pea-green. At the same time, these jocular tales are interspersed with grave reflections upon society and manners, and a good deal of the same high-sounding talk, that we meet with in the Resources.

We conclude with declaring, that however valuable a citizen may have been acquired in Mr. Bristed, and however zealous he may be for the interest of his adopted country, it is our sincere hope, that this, his intellectual offspring may always be considered alien from our literary community.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

Some observations and experiments on the apparatus called the 'American Water Burner.'

Much attention has recently been excited by an apparatus called the 'American Water Burner.' This apparatus is the invention of Mr. Morey, of New Hampshire, who, as we are informed in a letter from John L. Sullivan, Esq. dated, Boston, Aug. 14, 1818, 'very early in life evinced his ingenuity in the construction of several steam boats, in one of which, as early as 1790 or 91, he demonstrated to Chancellor Livingston at New York the practicability of applying steam to the purpose of propelling vessels.' Mr. Morey has devoted much time to improving steam engines, and is the inventor of the 'revolving steam engine.' About twelve months since he communicated his discovery 'of a method of burning water to Mr. Sullivan, who had long known him to be generally acquainted with chemical science, and therefore entered into his subject with some confidence.' These gentlemen after making many experiments and employing various combustible substances, as tar, rosin, oil, &c. to mix with the steam, have brought this apparatus to its present state of perfection. The construction of this machine is very simple; by means of it, tar is intimately mixed with steam or vapour of water, and made to issue, with a force proportional to the pressure of the steam, from a small orifice, like that in the jet of a blow-pipe, and is there fired. The flame, although the combustible substances issue from so small an orifice, is as large as that of a common smith's forge, and is unaccompanied with smoke; when this flame is directed against the bricks in the back of a fire place, they soon become heated to redness; if iron or steel filings be thrown into the flame, they burn with a sparkling brilliancy, similar to iron wire in oxygen gas. Some phenomena of this kind have led to the belief, that a new principle, hitherto uninvestigated, was concerned in their production; yet, every one acquainted with chemistry will at once conceive of the various changes produced by the action of this instrument, and will also recall to mind many analogous phenomena.

A few experiments have been made to ascertain the effect of steam on burning bodies, and to learn whether it probably suffered decomposition when issuing mixed with tar from the jet of the 'Water Burner.'

If a jet of steam, issuing from a small aperture, be thrown upon burning charcoal, its brightness is increased, if it be held at the distance of four or five inches from the pipe through which the steam passes; but if it be held nearer, the coal is extinguished, a circular black spot first appearing where the steam is thrown upon it. The steam does not appear to be decomposed in this experiment; the increased brightness of the coal is probably occasioned by a current of atmospheric air produced by the steam.

If the wick of a common oil lamp be raised so as to give off large columns of smoke, and a jet of steam be thrown into the flame, its brightness is a little increased, and no smoke is thrown off.

If spirits of turpentine be made to burn on a wick, the light produced is dull and reddish, and a large quantity of thick smoke is given off; but if a jet of steam be thrown into the flame, its brightness is much increased, and if the experiment be carefully conducted, the smoke entirely disappears.

If vapour of spirits of turpentine be made to issue from a small orifice and inflamed, it burns, giving off large quantities of smoke; but if a jet of steam be made to unite with the vapour, the smoke entirely disappears. The same effect takes place, if the vapour of spirits of turpentine and of water be made to issue together from the same orifice; hence the disappearing of the smoke cannot be supposed to depend on a current of atmospheric air.

If the flame of a spirit lamp be brought in contact with a jet of steam, it disappears and is extinguished at the points of contact, precisely as when exposed to strong blasts of air.

Masses of iron of various sizes and heated to various degrees from redness to bright whiteness were exposed to a jet of steam; no flame appeared, as was expected, but the iron was more rapidly oxidated where the steam came in contact with it than in other parts. It is probable, if the water suffered decomposition in this experiment, and if the hydrogen was inflamed, its flame might not be observed, when contrasted with the heated iron, a body so much more luminous.

It was attempted to ascertain the relative quantities of carbonic acid, produced by the flame of spirits of turpentine both with, and without steam. The vapour of spirits of turpentine was made to issue through a small orifice and inflamed; a bottle of the capacity of two pints was inverted over the flame and held there until it was extinguished. The flame of the vapour of turpentine alone soon disappeared, and a large quantity of carbon was deposited on the interior of the vessel; after the flame was extinguished a portion of the air remaining in the bottle was immediately examined by introducing it into Hope's eudiometer and agitating it with lime water, forty-five parts after agitation became forty-four, and the lime water was rendered turbid; but the flame, when aided by a jet of steam was not so soon extinguished, as in the last instance, nor was there much carbon deposited on the interior of the vessel, but the quantity of carbonic acid produced was greater; forty-five parts were diminished to forty-three; hence twice as much carbonic acid was produced by the aid of the steam, as without it; the residual air, when steam was employed, contained 4.444 per cent. carbonic acid; when not employed, 2.222. These experiments were repeated a number of times with the same results. An experiment was made to ascertain the relative heating powers of the flames when aided by steam, compared with flames of the same substances without steam; but the results were not satisfactory, as flames of the same size could not be produced.

The experiments above detailed, though not susceptible of much precision, are sufficient to show that steam is decomposed when thrown into flames where carbonaceous matter is evolved; and that it is decomposed when issuing mixed with tar from the jet of the 'Water Burner;' and that the quantity of heat is on the whole increased, by the combustion of a portion of carbon which would otherwise escape under the form of smoke.

It has been stated by many persons, that no increase of temperature, and consequently no advantage, could be derived from the supposed decomposition of water, because as much heat would be absorbed during the decomposition, as would be developed by the recomposition of water; this objection is very plausible; and is founded on the hypothesis, that the caloric in combustion arises from a diminution of capacity for heat, in the bodies entering into union; this objection disregards one remarkable phenomenon presented by this flame, viz. the absence of smoke.

Let us for a moment examine this hypothesis of the origin of heat in combustion, and learn whether mere change of capacity can afford an adequate explanation. If the researches of Delaroche and Berard, on the specific heat of gasses,* be entitled to confidence, the heat evolved during combustion cannot arise from a diminution in the capacities of bodies entering into combination. The capacity for heat, according to these philosophers, of oxygen gas is 0.2361, and of carbonic acid 0.2210; oxygen gas possesses, therefore, about $\frac{15}{1000}$ higher capacity than carbonic acid gas. Now, according to Lavoisier, the heat evolved by the combustion of one pound of charcoal is sufficient to melt 96.5 pounds of ice, which, while passing to the state of water, renders latent no less than 13510° of heat.† All this heat then must arise from a diminished capacity, oxygen gas, of which about 2.63 pounds are consumed with one pound of charcoal,‡ so that each pound of oxygen furnishes no less than 5981°; here a change of capacity which does not amount to $\frac{1}{16}$ of the whole, occasions an evolution of heat, amounting to 5981°; if this be the fact, the absolute heat of oxygen gas should be 95896°, which very much exceeds the estimate of any philosopher.

There is no doubt that heat is extricated during the formation of red oxide of lead; yet this substance has a capacity greater than the mean of its constituents; the intense temperature produced by the combustion of oxygen and hydrogen gasses, in the apparatus invented by our countryman, Dr. Hare, is well known to men of science, yet the heat here evolved must have some other origin than change of capacity of the two gasses, because the capacity of water for heat is much greater than its constituents, and consequently on the hypothesis under examination, *cold* ought to be produced during their union.

These instances have been brought forward to show that we must seek some other cause of the temperature produced by the water-burner, than mere change of capacity; it may be the evolution of *chymical heat.*

There are many facts in chymistry as difficult to explain as the high temperature produced by the water-burner, and with which this should be classed. The temperature of flames of candles and lamps, is doubtless as high as that produced by this instrument; for not only will steel and iron filings burn vividly when projected into them, but a fine filament of platinum may be melted in them, and if the flame be urged by a blow-pipe, comparatively large platina wire may be readily fused, as any one may satisfy himself by experiment.* The flame of hydrogen fuses platina† and the flame of cyanogen gas, which contains gasseous carbon, fuses a larger wire than a flame of hydrogen of an equal size;‡ and it is not improbable, that nascent carbon will produce a higher temperature than solid charcoal. These facts prove that the temperature of flame is very high. The flame of the Water Burner will no doubt melt small pieces of platina, although it might be difficult for it to bring a cubic foot or even a cubic inch of that metal into fusion.

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* See their Memoir, which gained the prize proposed by the French Institute, translated in Thomson's Annals, vol. 2, p. 134.

† This calculation is founded on the supposition, that 140° is the latent heat of water. This number is generally adopted by philosophers in preference 135°, obtained by Cavendish. See Wollaston, Phil. Trans. 1813. Henry's Chem. Thomson.

‡ Calculated on Davy's Numbers for oxygen and carbon. Elem. Chem. Philosophy.

Another reason why this apparatus apparently produces so high a temperature, is, that its flame is constantly acting like a flame urged by a blow-pipe, and a large quantity of burning matter is brought into contact with a given body in a given time; hence the bricks in the back of a fire-place are rapidly heated; and hence also, substances which are merely heated to whiteness by a flame, are easily fused when that flame is urged by a blow-pipe.

There is no method of determining the absolute temperature of bodies. Sir H. Davy has found that one volume of cyanogen detonated in a tube with two of oxygen, indicated a temperature of 5000° Fahrenheit; and he considers the real temperature to be much higher, since the cooling agency of the tube must have diminished the effect. Small quantities of matter heated to whiteness, hardly give the sensation of warmth to the hand, while larger quantities of comparatively low temperature burn intensely; phosphorus, when exposed to the air, is always luminous; 'for each particle of acid formed, must, there is every reason to believe, be white hot;' yet so few of these particles exist in a given space, that they scarcely raise the temperature of a body exposed to them; but when phosphorus is rapidly burnt and many particles of acid formed in a small space, the temperature produced is very intense.

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* In turning the delicate steel parts of philosophical instruments, fine, thin shavings are thrown off, which form a kind of *metallic wool;* these may be burnt in the flame of a candle, even when the quantity exceeds the bulk of a cubic inch.

† Davy, Phil. Trans. 1817, p. 47. ‡ Ibid. p. 67.

The effect produced by the water-burner is increased by the decomposition of steam; but if the steam was not decomposed, its presence would but slightly diminish the power of the instrument; because at high temperatures gasses not concerned in combustion, and vapours which require a high temperature for their production, have less effect in preventing combustion than gasses at the ordinary temperature of the air; because their cooling agency is diminished. This is remarkably the case with steam. The least of all explosive mixtures, carburetted hydrogen and air, was found by Sir H. Davy to require $\frac{1}{3}$ of steam to prevent explosion, whereas $\frac{1}{5}$ of azote produced that effect.

The operation of the water-burner, then appears to be simply this,—tar, minutely divided and intimately mixed with steam, is inflamed; the heat of the flame, aided by the affinity for oxygen of that portion of carbon, which would otherwise pass off in smoke, decomposes the water, and the carbon and oxygen unite; the hydrogen of the water, and probably of the tar, expand on all sides (and hence the flame is very large) to meet the atmospheric oxygen, water is recomposed, and passes off in steam; a degree of heat is produced, no doubt, greater than that which is produced by the combustion of the tar alone, and this heat is equal to that evolved by the combustion of a quantity of carbon, which would otherwise form smoke.

With regard to the light emitted by this flame, we can only refer to the general fact, that when solid matter is evolved and ignited in a flame, the light is very intense, and on the contrary, where gaseous matter is the product of combustion, the light is feeble. Hydrogen, when inflamed, gives little light, carburetted hydrogen more, and bicarburetted hydrogen produces a flame of still greater brilliancy. The flame of a spirit of wine lamp gives light of low intensity, but when a coil of platina wire is held in it, the illuminating power is greatly augmented.

It does not appear that the phenomena presented by this instrument are new; the invention is highly ingenious, and will doubtless be found very useful in steam boat navigation, where it is already applied by Mr. Sullivan. Probably a saving of heat would be produced by condensing the products of this combustion, which might be effected to a certain degree, by an apparatus of simple construction.

American publications in the months of July and August.

History.

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A Manual of Botany for the Northern and Middle States. By Amos Eaton, A. M. 2d ed. enlarged. 12mo. pp. 524. Albany.

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Edward Everett